


# SIND IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1591-1740): A STUDY OF ITS ADMINISTRATION, SOCITY, ECONOMY AND CULTURE

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy**

IN

HISTORY

BY

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2010

## ABSTRACT

Sind in medieval India was one of the very few geographically distinct regions of Indian subcontinent comprising the lower Indus Basin, Baluchistan Hills and Thar Desert, in its east and west, and the Sukkur gorge providing practically the only opening from the north. Although sequestered in the extreme western corner of the South Asian subcontinent, and thus to some extent, enjoyed a peculiar aloofness from the developments, that were taking place in the neighboring regions. However, its position as junction of land and sea routes, made it accessible to the major changes that were taking place in Central and Western Asia.

The geographical features of Sind put it in the category of the great river-desert basins as of the Oxus, Helmund and Nile. Before the present canal system it had a fairly narrow agricultural zone, which resulted in an interaction throughout its history between sedentary population, and nomads of the desert and steppes, on its east and west. This aspect of Sind is very well covered in the seventeenth century gazetteer *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* written by Yūsūf Mirāk in the year 1634.

The present thesis is divided into eight chapters, which deals with administration, society, economy, and culture. Introduction covers topography; which includes major physical features of the region of Sind. In this, the first part covers the physical division of Sind, including its main hills, desert, rivers, and doab, along with the description of its soil, main crops, mines, and minerals. It also covers the political boundaries of Sind, and major shifts within it under different regimes. The second part deals with the Arg͟hun and Tark͟hān regime, who ruled Sind prior to its annexation by the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The third part deals with the contemporary sources, which comprise official histories, or private accounts, and some private documents and numismatic evidence.

The Chapter I focuses mainly on the attempts for introducing the centralized Mughal Imperial administration in Sind. It also discuss the policies during the transitional phase immediately after the conquest, when the erstwhile ruler of Sind, on accepting the suzerainty of Akbar was given a *manṣab*, and taken into Mughal nobility, and was even made nominally the Governor of *ṣūba* Multan comprising Sind. But its ruler was not allowed to exercise real power,

and was not even allowed to visit Sind. He was practically was detained at the court. The imposition of centralized administration, with the appointment of Imperial officers in Sind, is dealt in part third of the chapter. An attempt is been made to show that despite Sind being a peripheral region, centralized Mughal administrative pattern was fully in vogue here, with the presence of all the Imperial officers as in other provinces of the Empire.

Chapter II deals with the fiscal system, which is divided into two parts again. The first, deals with rural taxation and land revenue; mode of assessment, magnitude of state demand, and its realization through the intermediaries. The salaries and perquisites of the intermediaries have also been discussed. Interestingly enough the Mughal administrative machinery functioned in the same manner in Sind, as in the other parts of Mughal Empire. The second part deals with the urban taxation; which includes custom duties (*dharat*), town tax (*misrī*), taxes on merchants, and on trade as boat tax (*chahal-yak*), and other taxes as *ẓakat* (toll tax), *muḥrī* ( for fixing the seal) ,as well as mariners' share, and seigniorage at mints.

Chapter III covers the agrarian society of Sind under the Mughals, here *zamīndārs* and Peasnts have been discussed separately. The first part deals with the landed potentates i.e. the *zamīndārs* and their relation with the Mughal State, their contribution in rural economy is been discussed in detail. The peasants, their stratification, and their relations with the *zamīndārs*, are discussed in second part. Agrarian society of Sind seems to have a unique feature, where the peasants and the *zamīndārs* often belonged to same clan, which sometimes created trouble for the Mughal administration. These problems have been dealt in detail.

Society of Sind during the period under study, had a population comprised of tribes, some of whom were nomads, and others sedentary. The tribes of Sind, their organization, territorial division, and their occupation have been dealt in Chapter IV. Their relations with the Imperial authorities and with the sedentary population have also been studied here.

Sind was an important trading centre and Chapter V, deals exclusively with the important towns and ports of Sind. It covers their strategic location, main products, and their contribution in the urban

economy, as Sind was an important trading centre. The emergence of the new towns and consequent decline of the old ones, and the factors responsible for it, has also been discussed.

Trade, commerce, currency and exchange mechanism is covered in Chapter VI. This Chapter has two parts; in first part trade, commerce, major export and import items, have been discussed. The establishment of the Mughal mints, and their share in the currency circulation, regional currency (of lower intrinsic value), and the exchange mechanism in Sind, has also been included in this part. The second part covers trading classes, and instruments of trade. It also discusses the inland and overland trade routes, and mode of transports. The rivalries between the Portuguese, English and Dutch have been discussed. The establishment of English Factories in different parts of Sind, the Portuguese monopoly prior to the English, and the Dutch attempt to establish Factory in Sind, is also covered.

Chapter VII covers the aspect of architecture of Sind, which has two major divisions. In section first, major buildings of Sind built during the Mughal Empire, has been covered. The second part is assigned to find the differences, and similarities between the classical

Mughal architecture, and the buildings of Sind built during the Mughal period. Here an attempt has been made to find the assimilation of Mughal architectural pattern on Sind buildings, and the extent to which these buildings had incorporated the Mughal Imperial features, or they remained regional in character.

The development of regional poetry, literature and high culture are major thrust areas in Chapter VIII. Royal patronage given to the men of erudition, skills during Arghuns, Tarkhāns, and Mughal period, famous academic institutions, have been discussed here. Besides this, contribution of previous rulers for the development of regional poetry, impact of Mughal court language, of *bhakti*, and *sufi* movements on it, along with the champions of regional poetry, have also been discussed in detail. The contributions of Sindhi calligraphers to Mughal buildings, and of writers to court histories and the regional histories, with the consequent growth of high culture in Sind has been studied here.

# CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY



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This is to certify that the thesis **'Sind in the Mughal Empire (1591-1740): A Study of its Administration, Society, Economy and Culture'** by **Ms Amita Paliwal,** is the original research work of the candidate, and is suitable for submission for the award of the Ph.D. degree.

12.7.10

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I owe the idea, inspiration and guidance for this thesis to my supervisor, Professor Shireen Moosvi, who despite of her busy schedule and commitment to academics, could pay full attention to the progress of my work. Her positive criticisms undoubtedly helped me to improve my work for better. It is because of her constant persuasion and perseverance that I could finally complete my thesis even after a long gap.

I consider myself to be very lucky to have an additional and extremely precious encouragement and advice of Professor Irfan Habib (Professor Emeritus, History). I am highly indebted to him for teaching me Persian, and thus made it possible for me to consult Persian sources. His invaluable insights have helped me in looking at many topics of this thesis from various perspectives. His comments have definitely enriched my understanding and the quality of the work.

My understanding of history has been shaped by all my teachers especially Professor S.P. Verma, Dr. Ishrat Alam, Dr. Jaya Menon in the department, Professor Farhat Hasan of Delhi University, and Professor Najaf Haider of Jawahar Lal Nehru University, who painstakingly cleared my doubts and helped me in understanding various concepts, theories and debates. This has aided me in comprehending diverse issues during the course of my work. I take this opportunity to acknowledge their contributions.

I would like to thank especially my friend Mr. Faiz Habib (Cartographer, Department of History, A.M.U.) for preparing maps, and whose unbeatable knowledge of geography helped me to understand the region under study. He was always available there to render his support and care whenever I needed it.

The staffs of various archives and libraries I have visited during material collection have been very cooperative to me. I would like to offer my gratitude to all the library staff of Teen

Murti House, New Delhi; Central Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh, and especially of Mr. Moin Akhtar Zaidi, late Mr. Mazhar, Mr. Bansi Dhar, Mr. Salman, Mr. Arshad, Mr. Zubair and Sayyed Fazil Hussain, of Centre of Advanced Study in History Department Library, AMU, Aligarh.

I thank all my friends and juniors for their endearing support and enthusiasm and I regret my inability to name all of them. Still, I would like to thank Aziz Faisal, Habib Manzar, Mumtaz Alam and Naushad for all kind of support and help from time to time. I would like to thank Mr. Idris Beg, Mr. Sajid, Nazima and Zeeshan for helping me in typing and Xeroxing research material.

Finally, I would like to thank my little angel, my daughter Elika, who bore the pain of separation and sacrificed her studies for the completion of my thesis. My friend and my husband Major Vineet, who despite his busy schedule and rigorous routine, has always supported me and freed me from other

responsibilities, without which it would not have been possible for me to concentrate on work. Thanks to my marriage to man in olive green, that has revived spirit of do or die in me. My in-laws and my parents have given me unwavering affection, love, and so much of support throughout the tenure of my thesis which cannot be described in words. The immense love of my father Shri Shiv Kumar Paliwal, and my mother Smt. Usha Paliwal, and their blessings helped me considerably. My sisters Chitra, Rashmi and Ashima have always encouraged me, and rendered their love and care whenever I needed it.

Finally I would like to thank the university authorities for giving me this precious one year to fulfil my long desired dream.

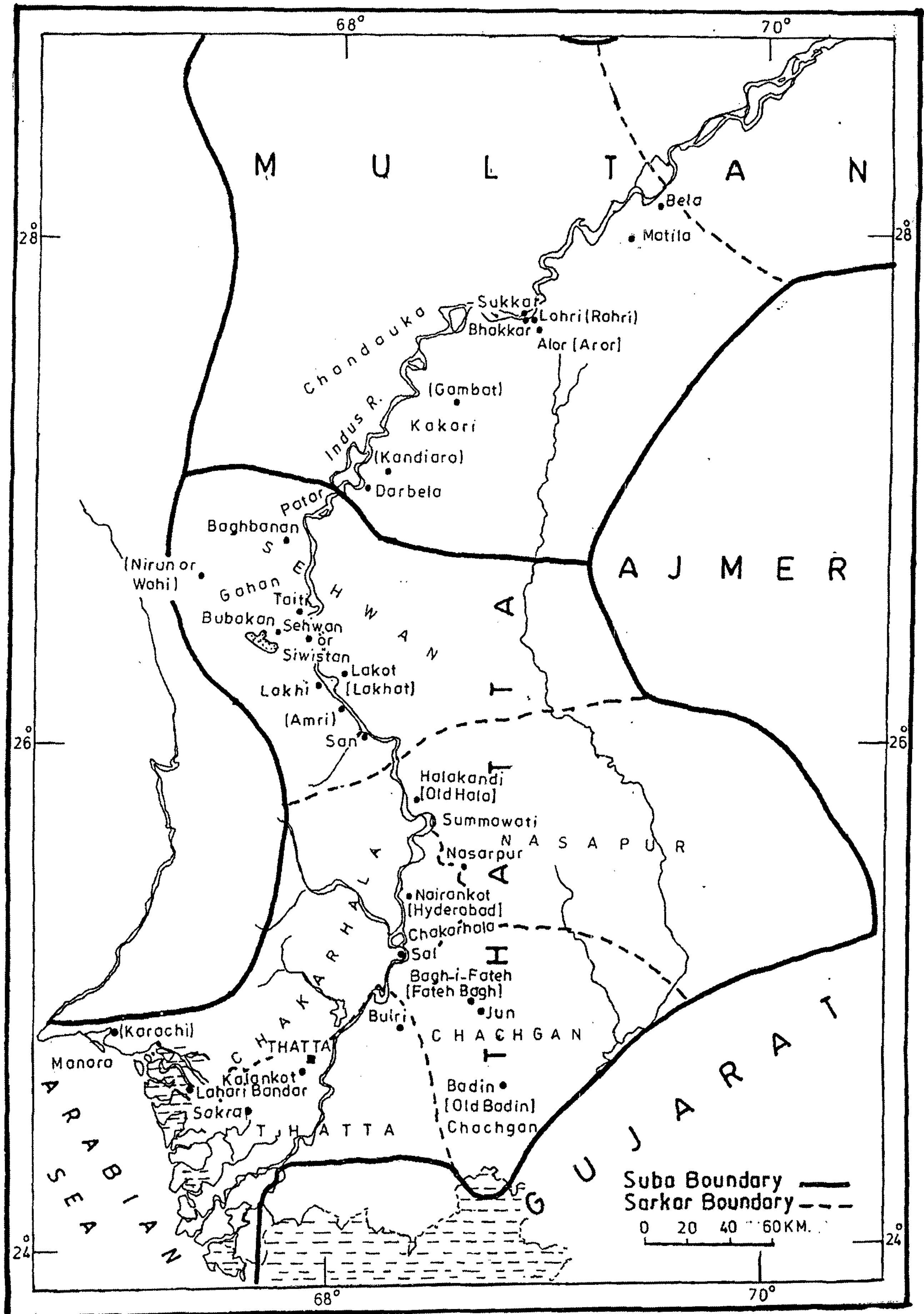
AMITA PALIWAL

## ABBREVIATIONS

1. *Ā'īn:* *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*
2. *AN:* *Akbarnāmā*
3. *Tuzuk:* *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*
4. *M.U.* *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*
5. *Z.Kh.* *Zakhīrāt-ul-Khwānīn*
6. *Adāb:* *Adāb-i-'Alamgīrī*
7. *E.F.I :* *English Factory Records*
8. *JESHO:* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
9. *IESHER:* *Indian Economic and Social History of Review*
10. *PIHC:* *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*

## LIST OF PLATES

# SIND 1595


68°
70°
28°
26°
24°
MULTAN
AJMER
GUJARAT
ARABIAN SEA
Bela
Matila
Sukkar
Lohri (Rohri)
Bhakkar
Alor (Aror)
Chandauka
Indus R.
(Gambat)
Kakari
(Kandiaro)
Darbela
Patar
Baghbanan
SEHWAN
(Nirun or Wahi)
Gohan
Taiti
Bubakan
Sehwan or Siwistan
Lakot (Lakhat)
Lakhi
(Amri)
San
THATTA
Halakandi (Old Hala)
Summawati
NASAPUR
Nasarpur
Nairankot (Hyderabad)
Chakarhala
Sal
CHAKARHALA
Bagh-i-Fateh (Fateh Bagh)
Jun
Bulri
CHACHGAN
(Karachi)
Manora
THATTA
Kalankot
Lahari Bandar
Sakra
Badin (Old Badin)
Chachgan
Suba Boundary
Sarkar Boundary
0 20 40 60 KM.

# INTRODUCTION

## 1: Sind and its Geography

Sind is one of the very few geographically distinct regions of Indian subcontinent comprising the lower Indus Basin, with the Baluchistan Hills, Thar desert, pressing it closely from east and west and the Sukkur gorge providing practically the only opening from the north.

The geographical boundaries of Sind extend from the lower half of the Indus valley. From Bhakkar down to the Arabian Sea, and from Kirthar Hills in the west to the desert of Thar in the east[1]. It is situated in the second climate and lies in the longitude $102^{0}$ 30' and latitude $24^{0}$ 10'.[2]

### 1.1 Topography of Sind:

On the basis of topography Sind region may be divided into three major and seven minor division:

1. Western highlands: a. Kirthar, b. Kohistan
2. Lower Indus valley: a. Western, b: Eastern, c: Delta
3. Desert: a. Pat, b. Thar

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1 Abu'l Fazl, *Ā'īn -i-Akbarī,* Nawal Kishore ed. Lucknow, n.d. vol II, p.165..

2 Aitken, *Gazetteer of province of Sind*, Karachi , 1907, vol A, p. 1.

**Western Highlands:** Giving the description of hills of Sind region *Ā'īn* tells "in the north of Thatta the mountain form several ranges, one extends to Qandahar, and the second from sea cost to the town of Kohmar (also known as Ramgar), and terminates in Siwistan (Sehwan), where it is known as lakhi. A third range runs from Siwistan to Siwi, and this called Khar or Kirthar. The fourth mountain chain touches Kachh on one side and the Kalimati territory (lakhi hills) on the other, and is known as Karah. From the boundary of Multan and Uchh, in the north towards Thatta, there is an existence of high mountain range; whlile in the south from Uchh to Gujarat, there are a chain of barren sandy mountain tract, and also from Bhakkar to Nasarpur and Amarkot."[3] Kohistan mainly consists of arcuate mass of tertiary, forming low scraps, hogbacks and plateaus of which are the most prominent are associated with the massive Kirthar limestone. The lakhi hills are considered the highest, having an elevation at 1500 and 2000 feet.[4]

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3 *Ā'īn*, vol II, p.165.

4 Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India on North- West including Sindo, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab and the neighbouring states.* New Delhi, 1994, vol II, p 208.

**Lower Indus Valley.**

The western valley section is formed mainly of older alluvium. The Kalat and Kirthar are flanked by alluvial fans on which *rabī* and *kharīf* crops are cultivated, then it loses itself in desolate clay deserts (*pat*) between Jacobabad and Sibi.[5]

Western valley also comprises the Hala, or Baluchi Mountains, stretch with diminished heights, to the bank of river at Sehwan, and southward of these pub range is most western.[6]Towards the south, the soil is comparatively better, with many lakes; fertile in itself. It has *Nari* river, *Nara* in the west, and the Manchhur lake.[7]

The Eastern valley has a range of hills stretching from Rohri towards Jaisalmer and the *Gunjah* hills, east of Indus reaching 400 feet on which Hyderabad is built.[8] The valley is a great doab of recent alluvial sands and clay, falling from 250 feet to 50 feet in 200 miles,

5 O.H.K.Spate and A.T.A.Learnmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, Great Britain , 1967, p.507.

6 Edward Thornton, vol II,p.207; O.H.K.Spate and Learnmonth, p. 507.

7 *Ā'īn,* vol II, p.165. It says, "Manchhur lake is near Sehwan, is two days journey in length, with artificial islands that have been made by fishermen, who dwell on them."

8 Edward Thornton,vol II, p .207

and has long narrow depressions (*dhoros*).[9] It has eastern *Nara,* and along it are small alkaline lakes (*dhands*). It was an extensive alluvial region stretching eastward of the fertile tract along the Indus, but being now generally deserted by water of the river, it has become a desert; with a scanty pasture to camels or horned cattle, or wild ass.[10]

Along the sea coast and for several miles inland delta is one of the most miserable countries in the world unlike that of Ganges delta. A section of banks of the river shows a continued succession of earth, clay and sand in layers, parallel to one another; and deposited without doubt, at different periods. One eight of the delta may be occupied at beds of rivers and inferior streams.[11] The base or seaward line of the delta of Indus measures from the *Garrah* mouth, in lat $24^{\circ} 43^{1}$ long $67^{\circ} 9^{1}$ to the *Sir* mouth, in lat $23^{\circ} 55^{1}$, long $68^{\circ} 15^{1}$, about one hundred and twenty five miles. If it be regarded as having the shape of the triangle, the perpendicular measured from the sea shore near Thatta, where the great branches of the Indus; the Sata or eastern, the Baggur or western divaricates, is about fifty miles, and its surface is about three thousand

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9 O.H.K.Spate and Learnmonth, p. 507.

10 Edward Thornton, vol II, p. 205.

11 Sir Alexander Burnes, *The Travels into Bokhara:Together with a narrative of a voyage on the Indus*, London, 1973. 3 vols, vol III, p. 250.

square miles: but as the river has in some degree deserted a considerable portion of the south-eastern part, the present delta does not contain probably more than two hundred five thousand square miles.[12]

**The desert:**

It lies in the desert belt of the tropics. On the north east is the *Pat* or desert of the upper Sind, lying between that town of Shikarpoor and the Bolan Pass, and consisted of the clay deposited by the Bolan, the Nari and the torrents, which flow down from the Hala Mountains; and which are lost in this dreary tract. It is about ninety miles across and in some places resembles "the dry bed of salt lagoon in an interval between, spring tides".[13] In the eastern part, within a reach of twenty miles is *Thar,* which is quite similar to *Pats,* but much sandier, extensive tracts being covered with sea hills, varying and shifting.[14]The sand hills continuing from Rohri and Alor bent southward separating the Hakrah and the Indus valley.

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12 Edward Thornton, vol II, p.204. The delta was in the form of a triangle, with Hyderabad, Kori creek and Clifton providing its three points. M. R. Haig, *Indus Delta Country,* London 1887, p.7.

13 *Ibid*, p. 206.

14 *Ibid.*

## 1.2 Climate:

The climate of lower Sind is sultry and disagreeable. According to Abu'l Fazl, "in the winter season, there is no need of *poshtins* (fur lined coats), and the summers heats are moderate, except in Sehwan." [15]

The climate of Sind is distinguished by great extremes of temperature, and by scantiness and capriciousness of the rainfall. The atmosphere of the coastal regions is comparatively moist, and with in the range of sea breezes, which prevail for about four months, weather is comparatively cooler. The south-west monsoon brings little rain over the coast from June till September.[16]The coastal regions were also susceptible to hurricanes and earthquakes. A great hurricane was reported in Thatta on 15 August 1637, which increased level of Indus River and thus caused destruction. Many men, buildings, cattle perished and one thousand ships were wrecked.[17]An earthquake was also reported in the year 1668, in the province of Thatta, especially in Samawani (under the jurisdiction of Lahari Bandar), which resulted in

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15 *Ā'īn*, vol II, p. 165

16 H.T. Lambrick, p.4.

17 Inayat Khan, *Shāhjahānnāmā*, tr.and ed by W.E.Begley and Z.A.Desai,New Delhi, 1990. pp..211-222.

its sinking down along with the thirty thousand residents.[18] While upper Sind had very hot weather, which continues for full seven months, and had a scanty rainfall, generally violent and of short duration.

On the basis of a popular geographical notion especially climate, this region can be divided into three main divisions:-

1. *Siro* or the upper country,
2. *Vicholo* or the middle country,
3. *Laru* or the lower country.[19]

The upper Sind was situated north of about $27^0$ N Lat., forty miles above Sehwan; central Sind was the tract between that limit and Hyderabad (old Nairun Kot). The lower Sind area is sloping or ascending to the sea, and is extended from Hyderabad to the sea; and was better known as delta country.

**1.3 Rivers:**

The main river of Sind is Indus.[20] River Indus was main source of water and form a delta of rich alluvium. At a distance of sixty miles

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18 Sāqī Mustaīd Khān, *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*, ed. Mualvi Agha Muhammad Ali, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1871. pp.83-4.

19 M.R.Haig, op. cit. p.1.

20 It was called Sindhu or Mihran. *Āīn*, vol II p.163; *Chachnama* (tr.), Mirza Kalich Beg Fredunbeg, as *The Cahachnama; An ancient history of Sind*, reprint Delhi, 1979 , p.11.

from the sea, and about five miles below the city of Thatta, this river divides in to two branches; the right arm is named Baggaur, and the left Sata.[21] The eastern branch of Sata, is larger of the two and below the point of division, is one thousand yards wide.[22]It expedites its water into the sea by its seven mouths, within the area span of thirty-five miles. The western arm , Baggaur, flows into one stream past Peer Putta, Bohaur, and Darajee, to within five or six miles of the sea, when it divides itself into two navigable branches, the Pittee and Pieteanee, which fall into ocean about thirty-five miles apart from each other.[23]The Indus has eleven mouths namely Pittee, Pieteanee, Jooa, Reechel, and Hujamree, Khedywaree, Gora (the largest mouth), Khaer, Mulla, Seer, and Koree.[24]

**Nari or Narvi River[25]:**

This river flowed near Ganjaba under Siwi. When it took a tract Sarvo of marshland, it was called *Dhand.*[26]Its overflowed water

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21 Alexander Burnes, vol III, p.228.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid*, p. 229.

24 *Ibid*, pp. 229, 235, 236, 237, 238.

25 Yūsūf Mirāk, *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*,ed. Syed Pir Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad-Sind, 1962. Vol II, p.26.

converts into a channel called river Nari,[27]then joins Manchhur lake.A part of this channel called by the name western Nara.

**Murah River**:

Another important river was Murah.[28] The modern name of this river is Mula.[29]

**Sawa River**:

It was actually a *nala,* flowed from the hills during rainy season, and from Manchhar lake upward during inundation, through *parganas* Kahan and Bubakan.[30] Its modern name is Gaj River.

**Hakra River**:

The *Nar* of Hakra or Ghaggar, and Sankara river; the head channel running past Alor has dried up. It was also known by the name of Wahind and Wahan.[31]

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26 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire,* (henceforth will be called *An Atlas*) Delhi, 1982. P.15, sheet 5 b.

27 *Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī,*vol II, pp. 26,203.

28 *Ibid*, p.26.

29 *An Atlas*, p. 15, sheet 5-b.

30 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.207.

31 Sayyed Muḥammad Tāhīr Nisyānī,*Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*,ed. Nabi Baksh Baluch, Hyderabad-Sind,1964, p.25; this channel also known as eastern Nara and it used to run twenty miles north of Rann of Cutch. M.R.Haig, op.cit.p.2

**Sultana River**:

It ran past Kandiaro.[32]

**Ren or Raini River**:

It was a large river, running from Indus river to Badin past Jun. It was called *Nullah.*[33] It was not more than forty yards wide in places, with steep banks, some fifteen to twenty feet high.[34]

The hydrological changes in the courses of these rivers, caused the birth of new places and ports in Sind; affecting political and economic spheres of life besides affecting social life of the habitants. The first noted change could be seen in the birth of Bhakkar, caused by a shift in the course of Hakra river,[35]which flowed past Alor at the time of Arab invasion, changed its course, and then flowed to north-west of Alor. Again it changed its course to southwards, deserting Alor, inclining to within about four miles of Alor, on the north cutting its way through rocks and finally forming a loop channel around present

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32 William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1646-1650* (henceforth *E.F.I.),* London,1906, p.151.

33 *Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.203.

34 H.T.Lambrick, p.31.

35 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p.25. According to Mirza Kalich Beg ,this change in the river course was caused by an earthquake in the year about 962.*Chachnama* (tr.), p.10n.

Bhakkar;[36] converting it into an island. Around 1300 AD, the Indus shifted its way from north of Makli hills and Bhambhore, and started flowing to the south of the Makli hills (situated between Thatta and Karachi), resulting in the desertion of an ancient port Debal, and the emergence of Lahari Bandar, as a new and main port.[37] In the year around 1648-52 AD, again the change in the Indus caused shoaling of entrance of this port, and it ceased to be navigable due to sand accumulation.[38] The traffic was now shifted to a new port Aurangabandar or Dehrajamka.[39] An English agent Richard Davidge has informed its location to be some forty kos to the north-east of

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36 Henry Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind with historical outline*, Calcutta,1929,p.149. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* assigns this change to be work of some merchants who wanted to teach a lesson to tyrant Samma ruler Dalu Rai. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirīī*, p.p.25-26; while Eastwick assigns yet another legend to it. E .B. Eastwick, *Dry leaves from young Egypt, London,* 1851,p.40.

37 William Floor, *The Dutch East India Company(VOC) and Diewal-Sind (Pakistan),in the 17th and 18th centuries*, Islamabad,1993-94.This port could accommodate one thousand ships at a time.(Inayat Khān, *Shāhjahānnāmā* tr., p.212.)

38 Jean Baptiste Travernier, *Travels in India*, tr, V.Ball, sec. ed. William Crooke, New Delhi,1917, vol I, p.10; *E.F.I.1651-54*, pp.10,11,11n.

39 During this time (1651-52) Aūrangzēb was the Governor of Multan and Sind, it was the time when part of Kakralah came in *ṣūba* Thatta . *An Atlas*, p.1 4. On it situated the new port of Aurangabandar or Dehrajamka. Edward Thornton in his *Gazzetteer* mentions this port with this name. Vol II, p.182

Lahari Bandar.[40] Aurangabandar is also mentioned as new port of Chuckerhallah.[41] This port was situated in latitude 24°10', longitude 67° 46', between *ṣūba* Thatta and Cutch, on the delta of the river Indus, consisted of fourteen small vessels, each being of forty tons.[42] Later this port became less important again due to change in Indus, and it was shifted to Shahbandar.[43] During the last quarter of eighteen century Shahbandar harbour got blocked resulting in the shifting of its trade and population to Karachi. The harbors stretching 2 miles northward from manure head [against Arabian Sea] to the narrows of Layari River.[44] The town of Karachi was founded by the Kalhora chief in the year 1729; after the blockage of the Kharak harbor.[45] We hear of Karachi by its present name in *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* when Nādir Shāh in 1742 A.D. ordered Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān Bayāt Beglārbegī to bring ships built at

40 *E.F.I.1651-54*, pp.10, 11, 11n. An English Factory was established here as Sind *Gazzetteer* mentions shifting away of English Factory from Aurangabandar to Shahbandar.Edward Thornton, vol II, p. 183; *E.F.I.1651-54*, p.10n.

41 *E.F.I.1651-54*, p.118.

42 Edward Thornton, *Gazzetteer,* vol II, p.183.

43 *Ibid;* H.T.Sorley has mentioned Aurangabandar as an inferior sub port of Shahbandar. H.T.Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit,* London, 1940, p.89.

44 *Imperial Gazzetteer of India, Karachi to Kottayam*, Oxford, 1908, vol XV,p.11.

45 Indu Banga, *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India*, New Delhi, 1992, p.338. At that time it was called Kalachi Kun. see H.T.Lambrick, p.123.

Surat, which came to Thatta via Karachi port.[46] Karachi port, unlike its predecessors remained firm to its position under the colonial rule, and even today.

Thus, the shift in the course of river Indus also caused shift in economic centres; and also in the establishment of new town like Karachi and Hyderabad. Until 18th century, the west in Sind region was the main centre of maritime activities and agriculture, but with the charge in Indus course, Hyderabad towards east became important, and main agricultural land also shifted from west to the east. Nairun Kot in *sarkār* Sehwan, served as a site for the modern city of Hyderabad which was founded in 1768-69.[47]

**1.4 Soil:**

Sind region posses mainly four types of soil; 1.*Pakki* soil or *rezani* land.2.*Wariasi* 3. *Kalar* 4. *Kacho* soil or *Barani* land.

1. ***Pakki* soil or *rezani* land:**

This is actually old alluvium in tracts once watered by river channels or overflows had compact grounds, and is distinguished only

46 *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, p. 452.

47 *An Atlas*, p.14, sheet 5-a.

by its comparatively light colour from *kacho* soil.[48]This type of soil does not need deep ploughing. There was ample of *rezani* land on the banks of lakes in *pargana* Lakut (*sarkār* Sehwan), which was so rich that it did not need ploughing, just simple seed sprinkling was enough to grow barley.[49]

2. ***Wariasi:***

It is loose grey sand and of texture so fine that they disintegrate virtually to powder, but it could only produce shrubs. The most characteristics shrub of the sandy tract were *khip*, *twiggy*, *phog* and *ak* bush.[50]

3. ***Kalar:***

This type of soil is very characteristics of Sind, as it contains an excessive proportion of salt. Its composition has nearly forty percent of sodium sulphate. This soil is black in colour, and does not produce anything, but darkish brown medium *kalar*, produces several variety of *salvador*, *khabar* in lower Sind and wild indigo in northern

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48 H.T.Lambrick, *op.cit.*p.16.

49 *Mazhar -i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 86, 204. *Pargana* Kahan and Bubakan of *sarkār* Sehwan also had some villages which had *rezani* lands.

50 H.T. Lambrick, p. 16.

region.[51] If irrigated with canal water, the soil may be prepared for rice cultivation. But it is only when the salts are present to such a greater depth, that there is no process of reclamation.

4. ***Kacho* soil or *baranī* land:**

This soil is the best in productivity. It is light loam, resulting from recent inundation. During the rainy season, when the water flows from the hills, the land is covered with alluvial deposits; and produce very good crop of millet, and sesame in *kharīf*, and mustard seed in *rabī*.[52] These were generally located under the hills, irrigated by rain fed streams.[53]

### 1.5 Irrigation:

Not only the towns and sedentary population was benefited with the Indus water, but agriculture got most of its benefit .Here cultivation also depended on river.[54] Sehwan, Bhakkar and Thatta had a very fertile land, because of the presence of lakes in them, and also because of the presence of doab. Though for the cultivation in the

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51 *Ibid*, p. 16; Ināyat Khān mentions that the rising level of Indus caused deposition of salt in soil and made it impregnable.*Shāhjahānāmā* (tr.), pp. 211,212.

52 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 205.

53 *Ibid*, pp.137, 205.

54.*Ibid*, p.26.Cutivation in Ganjabah (Bhakkar) depended firstly on the river Mauzahi, which emanated from the hill, secondly on the river Nari.

plains, irrigation mostly depended on rainfall,[55] besides digging of canal for the purpose is also recorded.[56] The rain irrigated villages followed *g͟halla-bak͟hs͞hi* as Ararah in Akbarabad Wahi in Sehwan.[57] Though for the cultivation in the plains, under the old system of irrigation natural channels of the river Phuleli, Guni, Purar, Nara, Arul and Baggaur etc, were used along with the artificial canals, dug by the rulers to carry the inundation waters, which facilitated canal irrigation in this region.[58] Irrigation was also carried through wells by *chark͟hī*, *mōkī* and *bōrī* methods. In *chark͟hī*, the Persian wheel (known as *nārū* or *hurlō*) was used to convey water to the lands situated at a higher level. *Chāhī* (well) irrigation was generally practiced in the areas, which was closer to river, for this purpose wells were dug, and water wheels were installed. When the *chark͟hi* was driven with the help of camels, it was known as *naru* or *na'uria*; but when the bullocks were

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55 *Ibid*, pp. 26,196.

56 *Ibid*, pp.191.

57 *Ibid*, p.155.

58 K͟hānwāh canal in Thatta was built by Darya K͟hān for irrigating the *pargana* of Sakurah and the plains near the hills in Chakarhala. Mīr M'asūm, *Tārīk͟h-i-Sind*, ed. U.M.Daudpota,Poona,1938, p.113; *Tārik͟h-i-Tāhīrī*, p.58; Mīr Abrah had also dug a canal in the *pargana* Chanduka of *sarkār* Bhakkar. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 17, 18.

employed to rotate *charkhī*, then it was known as *hurlō*.[59] When Shāh Beg Arghun had attacked *pargana* Baghbanan (*sarkār* Sehwan) , he captured one thousand camels which used to work the Persian wheels in gardens (*charkhā-i-bāghāt*).Yūsūf Mirāk also records the irrigation in village Nar of *pargana* Bubakan ( *sarkār* Sehwan) on the pattern of Afghanistan.[60]Even the *zamīndārs* for the cultivation of their holdings used to dig the canals for the purpose of irrigation.[61]

**1.6 Crops:**

*Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī* gives a detailed list of *rabī* and *kharīf* crops of the region Sehwan, which included Indian millet (*jawārī*), nachni and ragi (*māndwah*), rice paddy (*shālī*), cotton (*panbah*)[62], melon (*kharbūzah*) watermelon (*tarbūzah*), sesame (*kunjīd*), common

59 Reference of use of this Persian Wheel is found in the verses of famous Sindhi poet Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit. S.M. Jhangiani, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit and His Times, 1690- 1751*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 123.124. "It was put over a vertical wheel over the well. This was connected with another wheel on the same axel, whose cogs engaged with the cogs of a third, horizontal wheel. This last was rotated by oxen going round, and the movement was transferred by gearing to the well-wheel, which too thereupon rotated."Irfan Ḥabib, *Technology in Medieval India c.650-1750*, New Delhi, 2008. P.11.

60 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.212.

61 *Ibid*, p. 191.

62 *Ibid.* pp. 24, 25. In Kur, Zamin and Chhatar, dependencies of Siwi, the cotton plant measured upto jujube tree in height.

millet (*argān*), kangani (*gal*), tag san or Bengal san, urd (*māsh*), mung (*mūng*), sugarcane (*nayshakar*), dilpasand (*kachrah*),indigo (*nīl*), among the *kharīf* crops whereas *rab'i* crops included wheat (*gandūm*), barley (*jaū*), Bengal gram (*nakhūd*), Mustard seed (*sarshaf*), khardal (*ahūrī*),common millet (*arzār*), tagsan or Bengal san, mung (*mung*), chickling vetch (*masāng*) lentil (*'adas*), cumin (*zīrah*), fennel (*badyān*), garlic (*sir*), hemp (*bhāng*), opium poppy (*kuknār*), and tabacco, (*tambāku*). There is also mentioning of *khaliha*(?) as *rab'i* crop. Besides these, in the *pargana* of Nairun of *sarkār* Sehwan (earlier known as *Kulab-i-Manchar*), some acquatic roots and seeds were also produced, called *biha-kumah* or *lura* or *napah* (lotus seeds), *budi*, roasted root of *deri*, a reed which grew there along the river banks, and used in weaving mats.[63]

### 1.7 **Mines and Minerals:**

Besides the agriculture being main source of income, the country also abounds in mines and minerals. In Thatta, salt pits, mines of yellow stone and iron mines were present.[64] Alexander Hamilton had recorded some other minerals like saltpetre, salt armomack, borax

63 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 69-71.

64 *Ā'īn*, vol II, p. 165.

opoponax, asafetida, goat-bezoars, and some semi-precious stones like lapis tutie, and lapis lazuli.[65] Anunbela situated in the hills of Sehwan had copper and antimony mines.[66]

**1.8 Political Geography:**

Although sequestered in the extreme western corner of the South Asian subcontinent, and thus to some extent enjoying a peculiar aloofness from the developments taking place in the neighboring regions. The territorial boundaries of Sind were subjected to the political development. A cradle of the great Indian civilization which came into contact with the Aryans; and thus Indo-Aryan culture was first witnessed here. Later this region also nurtured Buddhism, the archaeological remains of which are still evident, though with the coming of Arab in eight century, Buddhism could not sustain itself and became extinct. Thus gates of Islamic contact with India were opened, which facilitated the growth of Indo-Islamic culture.

During the seventh century, prior to the advent of Arabs, the frontiers of Sind touched the boundaries of Kashmir, the borders of

65 Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of East Indies*, reprint, New Delhi, 1995, vol I, pp.126-7.

66 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p, 232.

Kirman and included some portions of Makran and Rajasthan.[67] It seems that during the Sammah rule, the western boundaries of Sind extended from the Makran to the desert of Siwi (Sibi).[68] It also appears that the eastern frontiers were fixed from the province of Bhakkar, and borders of Jaisalmer to Umarkot and Wange; while Nagar Parkar, and Suleman Nagar (Cutch) were not a part of Sind.[69]

During the Arg͟hun period in 1557-8, Shal, Mastang and Siwi were included in the west, while Uchch, Jujunwahan, Bhattiwahan and part of Multan to the north Sind.[70] After the death of Shah Hussain Arg͟hun, the territories lying above the Lakhi hills[71] belonged to Sultan Maḥmud (of Bhakkar) and those to the other side of Lakhi hills went to 'Isa Tark͟hān.[72] After the Mughal conquest of this area (in the year 1574 A.D.), Bhakkar came under the Mughal sway and became a *sarkār* of

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67 *Chachnāmā* (tr.), pp.10, 30, 37, 38.

68 *Tārīk͟h-i-Sind*, p.104; *Tārīk͟h-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p.240.

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.24, 223. In the year 1557-58 Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari brought these territories under his sway.

71 The Lakhi range is an offshoot from the Kirthar which separates Sind from Baluchistan. *A'īn*, vol II, p.165.

72 In the year 1554-5, Sultān Maḥmud of Bhakkar and 'Isa Tark͟hān signed this agreement, but they remain loyal to Shāh Husaīn Arg͟hun. It was only after his death in 1555 A.D. that this agreement came into effect. *Tārīk͟h-i-Sind*, pp.190, 191, 192, 193, 221.

*ṣūba* Multan; while rest of the Sind later came under the *ṣūba* of Multan. After the conquest of Sind, 'Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānān sought permission of Emperor Akbar to extend its boundaries to Cutch and Makran, which Akbar denied saying these lay on the frontier of Safawid Emperor Shāh Abbās, since the relation between the two were cordial, Akbar did not want to ruin it.[73] After the death of Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān in 1612 A.D. Thatta being a larger *sarkār* was converted into *ṣūba* of which the first indication came early in Shāhjahān's reign[74], while Bhakkar continued to be a part of *ṣūba* Multan, extending its boundaries upto Darbela and Chadukah.[75] Now the Sind region was divided into two; the upper Sind situated to the upper side of Indus and lower Sind included *ṣūba* Thatta. After the invasion of Nādir Shāh on Sind during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh in the year 1739-40, the

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73 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.28.

74 Revenue statistics in *Bayāz-i-Khushbuī*, MS I.O.828,ff 180a. (Rotograph no.194, History Department Library, Aligarh Muslim University)

75 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p.193; Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnāmā*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1873-87. vol III. pp. 635-42; Ā'īn, vol II, p.163; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.10, 15, 16. During the seventeenth century the English traveler assigned its boundaries in the east till Ajmer, in north till Multan, to the south ,a desert and the Indian Sea, while to the west Makran and Siwistan(Sehwan). John de Thevenot, *Relation de Indostan1666-67*,tr. by Lovell, reprint by S.N. Sen as *The Indian travel of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949. pp.74, 75.

region was again divided into three parts by Nādir Shāh; the districts of Thatta with its dependencies were conferred on Mian Noor Muḥammad Khān of Khodabad [Shāh Qulī Khān]; the hilly part of the country was handed to Baluchi chief Mahābat Khān, while Shikarpur,[76] Surkana, Siwistan and Karachi including town of Chotu, were given to Daudpotas.[77]

76 Shikarpur was built in 1617 A.D. and is situated in upper Sind, north-west from Indus at Sukkur, some 40 miles from Carkana, and 36 miles from the edge of the deserts at Rojlanả, which seperates upper Sind from Cutch. See R. Hughes Thomas, *Memoirs on Sind*, Lt. T. Postan, "Miscellaneous information related to the town of Shikarpur, "first pub.1855, reprint, New Delhi,1993.2 vols, vol I, pp.87, 88.Also see Shahmet Ali, *The History of Bhawalpur*, London 1848. p.25.

77 'Alī Shēr 'Qanī Thattavī, *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, ed. Pir Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad- Sind. Vol III, part I, pp. 449-52.

## 2: Sind under the Arghuns and Tarkhāns

The history of the Arghun -Tarkhān principality of Sind dates beck to 1520-92 A.D. In the sixteenth century, the Arghuns took possession of Bhakkar. The Arghuns had been in the service of the Timurids in Khurasan since the time of 'Abu S'aid Mirza.[1] Amīr Zūnnun, father of Shāh Beg Arghun was a noble under Sultān 'Abu S'aid Mirza. He spent some time at Herat in the company of his father Mīr Hasan Basrī, under Sultān Yādgār Mirza. After some time in exile he came back to Khurasan, where Sultān Husaīn Mirza took him under his patronage and made him Governor of the *vilāyat* of Ghor and Dawar[2] under Amīr Zūnnun, Arghuns had established themselves at Qandahar. In 1519-1520, the Arghun ruler Shāh Beg[3], was forced to move towards Sind, being hard pressed by the Safawid ruler Shāh Ismāil on the one side, and Bābur at Kabul on the other.[4] Firstly, he occupied the fort of Siwi, and then moved towards Fatehpur, 50 *kos* towards Sind, where he had a fight with the sons of Pīr Walī Barlās

1 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p.80.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 Zahīruddin Muḥammad Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, tr. Annette Susannah Beveridge, first pub.1922, reprint, Delhi, 1970, vol I, p.429.

and the Baluches; and after defeating them he returned to Qandahar.[5] But his entrance into Sind was not easily achieved;[6] he had a fight with the Sammah ruler of Sind Jām Firūz,[7] in which Sammah forces were defeated. An agreement was reached between the two parties;[8] and a division of Sind took place, according to which the territories from Lakhi Hills down to Thatta were left under the jurisdiction of Jām Firūz, while from Lakhi upward (Including Bhakkar) the territories to be governed by Shāh Beg.[9] After making this arrangement Shāh Beg went to Qandahar. At this juncture realizing the strategic importance of Bhakkar which not only commanded the route between Sind and the Punjab, but could also served as a secure post for meeting any invasion from the northwest down to Bolan pass; that Shāh Beg Arghun sent his foster brother Sultān Maḥmūd Khān

5 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp.104-5. See map 5 A in *An Atlas.* By the middle of the sixteenth century , the Baluches had emerged as a formidable ppwer in Multan and in Sind. In 1519, Bābur has mentioned them as far north as Khushab and Bhira. *Bāburnāma*, vol I, p. 382.

6 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp.104-5.

7 According to *Ā'īn*, Jām Firūz of Sammah dynasty ruled Sind from 1492 to 1520, for almost a period of eight years. *Ā'īn*, vol II, pp.168-9. In 1522, when Shāh Beg Arghun finally established his authority in this region, Jām went to Gujarat.

8 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 113-4.

9 *Ibid*, p.116.

Kōkaltāsh,[10] popularly known later as Sultān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī (Sultān was a part of his name and not a title), to charge of the expedition against Bhakkar which he duty captured.[11]He took the help of the Sayyeds of Bhakkar, to successfully subdue the Dharejas.[12]

In the year 1521, after the death of Shāh Beg, his son Shāh Husaīn a favorite of Bābur,[13]succeeded him.[14] It was during his reign that

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10 *Ibid*, p.218. His father Mīr Fazīl Kokaltāsh, was in the services of Shāh Beg Arghun, and his mother was an Afghan from Shal and Mastang; *Tarkhānnāma*,tr. by Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians,* Lucknow, n.d. vol I, p.321.

11 Sultān Maḥmūd showed much courage during Shāh Beg's invasion of Sind. He came to Bhakkar with just seventy men. *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p.219; *Nūsratnāma-i-Tarkhān*, Ansar Zahid Khan, Karachi, 2000. It is based on the unique manuscript in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Lytton Farsiya Akhbar, no.156. P. 233.

12 Though Sultān Maḥmūd praised these Sayyeds before Shāh Husaīn, yet the Sayyeds wished to migrate to Rohri, as they were apprehensive about the fact that their influence in Bhakkar might not be liked by the Arghun ruler. *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp. 122-3; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* pp. 6-7. These Dharejahs evaded the payment of revenues to him and twice attempted to expel Maḥmūd Khān from Bhakkar and capture the fort. But Maḥmūd Khān subdued them ,and captured their forty chiefs ;out of them twenty-seven were executed by the orders of Maḥmūd Khān, and rest were executed by the orders of Shāh Beg. *Tārīkh-i- Sind,* pp.122-23.

13 *Bāburnāma* (tr.), vol I, pp. 429-30.

14 *Tārīkh-i- Sind,* p.127. Shāh Husaīn swore allegiance to the descendents of *Sāhib-i-Qirān* (Amīr Tīmūr), and declared Bābur as the Emperor. The *khutba* was also read in the name of Babur. P.142.

Emperor Hūmāyūn fleeing from Shēr Shāh entered Sind in 1541. Sultān Maḥmūd was asked to pay homage to the Emperor Hūmāyūn, but he refused saying, "unless my master [Shāh Husaīn] orders we to do so, I can not move, as then I will not be true to my master's salt."[15] It was only after Shāh Husaīn ordered him to provide provisions to Hūmāyūn and welcome him, that he obeyed his master's orders. [16] But he would not agree to Humayun's demand that he should surrender the fort of Bhakkar, in lieu of which he was offered Chachgan in southern Sind.[17] This led to conflict, and in 1541-43 the Mughal forces made fertile attempts to capture Bhakkar, but Sultān Maḥmūd was able to repulse both the Mughal commanders sent against him, Taīmūr Sultān, and Shaīkh 'Alī Beg Jālaīr, the latter being killed.[18]

In the year 1543-44, Shāh Husaīn entrusted the charge of Siwi (Sibi, below the Bolan pass) to Sultān Maḥmūd, where he

15 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 170; *Akbarnāmā*, vol II, pp, 173-74.

16 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 170.

17 *Ibid*, pp.174-76. Hūmāyūn wanted this fort for his ladies, who could safely dwell there, while he himself planned to go to Gujarat.

18 *Ibid*, p. 220; *Tarkhānnāma* (tr.), p. 318. It is surprising that during the entire siege of the fort of Bhakkar, Nizāmuddīn Ahmad nowhere mentions the name of Sultān Maḥmūd, though separately he has mentioned him as s tyrannical Governor of Bhakkar. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, ed. Brijendranath De, Bib. Ind. 3 vols ,Calcutta,1913, 1927, 1931, and 1935, vol II, pp.202-07, vol III, p.521.

successfully subdued the Baluch;[19] and attempted to impose tribute on the nomads[20] throughout the reign of Shāh Husaīn, Sultān Maḥmūd enjoyed his confidence, so much so that he was even given the charge of the real (*muhr*) of Shāh Husaīn.[21] The Governor of Thatta, 'Isa Tarkhān approached Sultān Maḥmūd, in the year 1554-55, to come to a secret agreement according to which, after the death of Shāh Husaīn, they would divide the territory of Sind between themselves, whereby the territories lying above the Lakhi Hills were to belong to Sultān Maḥmūd and those the other side of Lakhi Hills, were to go to 'Isa Tarkhān.[22] But they more to remain loyal towards Shāh Husaīn, so long as he was alive.[23] Sultān Maḥmūd apparently concurred.

After the death of Shāh Husaīn early in 1555, this arrangement came into effect, whereby Sultān Maḥmūd started ruling

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19 *Tārīkh-i- Sind,* p.220; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.32.

20 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,*vol II, p.27. These Baluches belonged to Nuhmardi clan, and dwelt in Kirthar range, which runs from Sehwan to Siwi. They maintained three thousand cavalry and seven thousand infantry. *Ā'īn*, vol II, p.165.

21 *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, p. 91.

22 *Ibid*, pp.190-91, 221; but according to the author of *Tarkhānnāma*, it was Sultān Maḥmūd who approached Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān for this alliance. *Tarkhānnāma* (tr.), pp.321-22; the Tarkhān family had become powerful in lower Sind in around 1520. ( *Ā'īn*, vol II, pp. 168-69.)

23 *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, pp.190-91.

Bhakkar [24] almost like an independent ruler, and 'Isa Tarkhān started similarly ruling Thatta.[25] Sultān Maḥmūd even stuck coins in his own name, and had his name included in the *khutba* (Friday sermon).[26] He subdued the recalcitrant Baluch and Samejahs.[27] He dealt very harshly with the malcontents. When in 1558-59 Nāhar Khan of Sitpur (on the Panjnad south west of Multan) tried to defy the orders of Sultān Maḥmūd, he laid siege to the fort of Sitpur, and was only after the payment of four lakh *laris* as indemnity that Sultān Maḥmūd went back to Bhakkar. [28] In the year 1557-58, he brought the territory of Uch, Jujuwahan and Bhattiwahan (now in Bhawalpur Territory) under his sway.[29]

Sultān Maḥmūd maintained very cordial relationship with the Safawid ruler, Shāh Tahmāsp. In 1557-58, he was granted a flag,

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24 *Ibid*, pp. 102-3, 221. Shāh Husain died from paralysis at Alipur on Tuesday 12th *Rabi'ul Awwal, 962* A.H. (4th February, 1555).

25 *Ibid*, p.207. It was during his rule that the Portuguese attacked Thatta and taken it by surprise. *Tārikh-i-Ṭāhirī*, pp. 111-14.

26 Nawāb Samṣamud-daulā ShāhNawāz Khān and Abd'ul Hayy, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim,Bib. Ind.Calcutta,1888, 3vols. Vol III , p. 245.

27 *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, p. 221.

28 *Ibid*, pp. 223-4. The siege continued for two months, and after the intermediation of Khwāja Kalān, 'Abdullāh Muftī, and Mīr Yār Muḥammad Ṣādī, Nāhar Khān sued for peace.

29 *Ibid*, p. 223.

kettledrum, robes and ten thousand *togh* [yak tail standard].[30] They frequently exchanged embassies also.[31] Shāh Tahmāsp also gave him the title of "Khān-i-Khānān."[32] The *Munshāt-i-Namkīn*, a massive collection of documents of Akbar's reign, contains one of Shāh Tahmāsp letters of Emperor Akbar, in which he recommended Sultān Maḥmūd for the title of Khān-i-Khānān and *Sipahsālār*.[33] It is almost certain that Shāh Tahmāsp was anxious that the title having been given by him to Sultān Maḥmūd Khān should be confirmed by Akbar, so as to establish the latter's consent to Bhakkar passing under Safawid influence. Akbar's reply indicated his reluctances to meet the Shāh's wishes, through the reason given was that Hūmāyūn had already conferred the same title upon Munīm Khān.[34] Shāh Tahmāsp had also

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid*, p. 225. In the year 1561-2, an envoy of Shāh Tahmāsp, Haq Būrdī Beg came to Bhakkar with many costly presents, and he stayed there for one year. Next year, he was sent back with Abu'l Makram, an envoy on behalf of Sultan Maḥmūd Khān. Haq Būrdī Beg was sent once again to Bhakkar by Shāh Tahmāsp.

32 *Ibid.*

33 I.A.Zilli, ' *Early correspondence between Shah Tahmasp and Akbar*', in *The Islamic Heritage in South Asian Sub-Continent* ed. by Nazir Ahmad and I.H. Siddiqui, Jaipur, 2000, vol II. This volume contains the translation of three letters written by Shāh Tahmāsp and Emperor Akbar . pp. 230-42.

34 *Ibid*, p. 236. Akbar also said that Sultān Maḥmūd had been given the title of 'Itibār Khān.

recommended for an enhancement in the rank of Sultān Maḥmūd.[35] It is really surprising that the Shāh should have made such a recommendation, since the official chronicler Abu'l Fazl dons not even include Sultān Maḥmūd in the list of nobles of the Empire.[36] Yet curiously enough, Akbar's reply to Tahmāsp implies that he considered Sultān Maḥmūd Khān as a grander of his Empire, Abu'l Fazl infact mentions that in his conflict with the Tarkhāns of Thatta, Sultān Maḥmūd Khān drew on the assistance of the Mirzas of Qandahar, who had charge of that fort on behalf of Shāh Tahmāsp[37] and this, again suggests that, rather than being a grander or subordinate ruler of the Mughals, Sultān Maḥmūd was including towards the Safawids. Sultān Maḥmūd however did not wish to the Mughals unnecessarily whenever any Mughal noble passed through his territory, he treated him very

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35 *Ibid*, p. 242.

36 *Ā'īn*, vol I, pp. 160-65. Even Nizāmuddīn Ahmad has not treated Sultān Maḥmūd as a Mughal noble describing him rather as a tyrannical ruler of Bhakkar. *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol III, p.521.

37 Bāqī Tarkhān, son of 'Isā Tarkhān, complained to the Emperor Akbar about the high handedness of Sultān Maḥmūd in which he mentioned Sultān Maḥmūd's alliance with the Mirzas of Qandahar. Ultimately a farman was issued to Sultān Maḥmūd. *Akbarnāma*, vol II, pp. 278-79; 'Abdul Qādir Badāunī, *Mūntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, ed. Ali Ahmed and Lees, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1864-9. 3 vols, vol II, p.91.

well.[38] To please the Mughal Emperor, he even imprisoned the fugitive Mughal noble, Shāh Abu'l Ma'alī, for a period of seven months in Bhakkar in 1556, and it was only after the *farmān* was issued to send Abu'l Ma'alī to the royal court, that Sultān Maḥmūd released him and sent him by way of Multan.[39] Similarly in 1560, Sultān Maḥmūd denied passage to Bairam Khān, desirous for going to *haj* pilgrimage, for few that his receiving Bairam Khān might among Akbar, who had dismissed Bairam Khān.[40]

Sultān Maḥmūd, entrenched at Bhakkar, also thought to keep the Tarkhāns of Thatta at bay, by interfering in their internal matters. In 1565-66, Sultān Maḥmūd not only entertained at Bhakkar certain Arghun readers whom Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān had driver out, but

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38 In the year 1556, while Bahādur Khān, Qubad Khān, Yāqūb Beg, Shāh Tardī Beg' Muzaffar Khān, and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, were returning from Qandahar, Sultān Maḥmūd Khān entertained them very well. *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, p.221.

39 *Ibid.*

40 In 1560, Sultān Maḥmūd was alarmed by hearing the news of the journey of Bairam Khān to Mecca via Bhakkar. He directed that *chaharbagh*, where Hūmāyūn had stayed in the neighborhood of Bhakkar, be laid waste, so that Bairam Khān might not think of staying there, when Bairam Khān come to know of this, he changed his route and went to Gujarat via Pattan. *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, p.224. This was despite the fact that just one year earlier, Sultān Maḥmūd had married Gauhar Tāj Begum, daughter of Shāh Tardī Beg, a relative of Khān-i-Khānān Bairam Khān. P.223

sent his troops to help them besiege Siwistan (Sehwan), an enterprise in which success eluded him.[41] Previously in 1561-62, Mirza Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān after having some tension with his father and brother Mirza Muḥammad Sālih, took shelter under Sultān Maḥmūd, who intermediated and asked 'Isa Tarkhān to forgive his son so finally in 1562-63, Bāqī was sent back to his father.[42] Bāqī Tarkhān succeeded his father after his death. An important event took place when the window of Shāh Beg, Māh Begum[43] died in the custody of Bāqī Tarkhān. Nāhid Begum, the daughter of Māh Begum approached Sultān Maḥmūd to punish Bāqī Tarkhān. Sultān Maḥmūd, thereupon, asked them to obtain a *farmān* from the Emperor Akbar. After obtaining a *farmān* she along with her husband Muhībb 'Alī,[44] and

41 *Ibid*, pp. 225-26.

42 *Ibid*, pp. 224-25; *Tarkhānnāma* (tr.), pp. 324-25.

43 Māh Begum, was the daughter of Muḥammad Muqīm (brother of Shāh Beg), who was captured in a battle with Bābur in 1517. Bābur married her to one of his nobles Qāsim Kōka, and Nāhid Begum was born to them. Later on by the efforts of Shāh Beg, Māh Begum escaped from Kabul, leaving her daughter there. Māh Begum being a widow now married Shāh Beg. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp.103-07.

44 Muhībb 'Alī, son of Mīr Khalīfa, was a *mansabdār* of 1000 (*Ā'īn*, vol I, p. 160). He gave up military service and lived in retirement. Emperor Akbar now gave him the territory of Multan. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 227.

Mujāhid Khān[45] came to the vicinity of Bhakkar to take his help. But at this juncture Sultān Maḥmūd declined to extend any help.[46] Shocked by his treatment the Mughal nobles along with the Arghuns decided to laid siege to the fort of Mathila (north-east of Bhakkar); thereafter they captured it,[47] from the governor Mubārak Khān;[48] a slave of Sultan Mahmud in the year 1572-73. After this Mubārak Khān also joined hands with the Mughal forces, but, along with his son Beg Oghlī was soon after killed.[49]

In the year 1572-73, Akbar confirmed the governorship of Bhakkar on Sultān Maḥmūd and sent a *farmān* with Mīrjī Tawāchī to the effect; he also withdrew Muhībb 'Alī and Mujāhid Khān from

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45 Mujāhid Khān, was the grandson of Sa'id Khān Mughal, the Governor of Multan. *Mūntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, vol, II, p. 134.

46 *Ibid.* Badāunī says, "because Sultān Maḥmūd did not trust Muhībb 'Alī, therefore, he asked them to go via Jaisalmer, then only he will help them otherwise not."But Ma'sūm Bhakkarī says, "because Nāhid Begum, Muhībb 'Alī, and Mujāhid Khān brought those Arghuns, whom Sultān Maḥmūd had ousted, this infuriated Sultān Maḥmūd and he refused to help them. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 237.

47 Mathila was a *mahal* in the *sarkār* of Bhakkar, with a total revenue of 1,35,3713 *dāms*. *Ā'īn*, vol II, p.163. For the details regarding the siege of the fort of Mathila see *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 228-9; *Akbarnāma*, vol II, pp.362-64; *Mūntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, vol, II, p. 135.

48 Mubārak Khān was a slave, purchased by Sultān Maḥmūd for two hundred black *laris*. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 232; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 31.

49 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 230-33.

there.[50] At this juncture, Sultān Maḥmūd fell ill, suffering from dropsy. He wished to surrender the fort of Bhakkar to Emperor Akbar, provided Akbar sent another agent.[51] Akbar agreed, but Mujāhid Khān and Muhībb 'Alī Khān went on with the siege .The siege was still being conducted when Sultān Maḥmūd Khān died on 8 *Safar* 982 A.H. (30 may 1574). The garrison in the fort contained to resist, till Gēsū Khān sent by Akbar arrived (3 August 1574) and, dispersing the besiegers, took Bhakkar on behalf of Akbar.[52]

Thus, Bhakkar finally came under Mughal sway. Bhakkar became a *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Multan, with 12 *mahals*, and a total revenue of 1824497 dams, and 2,82,013 *bighas* of measured land.[53] Banwālī Dās was appointed the *karōrī* (revenue collector) of *sarkār* Bhakkar.[54] The name of Tarsūn Khān,[55]son of Shāh Muḥammad Saīf'ul-Mulk, was proposed for the governorship of Bhakkar. But senior nobles requested

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50 *Ibid*, pp. 234-35.

51 *Ibid*. Abu'l Fazl says, "Sultān Maḥmūd wanted to present this fort to prince Salīm. *Akbarnāmā*, vol III, p.91; *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, pp. 235-6. According to Badāunī, "Akbar sent Mīr Gēsū Bakāwal Bēgī to examine the affairs of Sultan Mahmud, and to guard the fortress of Bhakkar." *Mūntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* ,vol, II, p. 186.

52 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 235-36.

53 *Ā'īn*, vol II, pp.163-4.

54 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 245; M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, p. 40.

55 Tarsūn Khān was a *mansabdār* of 5000. *Ā'īn*, vol I, p. 160.

Akbar not to appoint a son of Saīf'ul Mulk to such frontier territory. As a result Tarsūn Khān was recalled to Agra;[56] and in his place Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad, *mir-i-adl* (judge) of Amroha a personal friend of Badāunī, was appointed as a *ḥākim* (commandant) of Bhakkar; with a raised *mansab* of 1000.[57] The entire administration of Bhakkar was now set up according to the standard of Mughal pattern, with its commandants (*ḥākims*) continuing to be transferred after every two to three years.

56 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 245. According to Abu'l Fazl, "The government of Bhakkar was entrusted to Tarsūn Khān who hastened to that province." *Akbarnāma,* vol III, 91-2. M. Athar Ali has also mentioned Tarsūn Khān as *ḥākim* of Bhakkar; probably he relied on *Akbarnāmā. (The Apparatus*, p. 4)

57 Badāunī writes that," Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad, *mīr-i-'adl* of Amroha, was appointed to the government of Bhakkar in the year 984 A.H. (1575-76)."While Ma'sūm Bhakkarī says that he arrived at Bhakkar on *Ramzan* 11, 983 A.H. (14th December, 1575). *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, p. 245-46.

## 3: An Analysis of the Contemporary Sources

The political history of Sind in the sixteenth and seventeenth century is well illuminated by a number of detailed chronicles, beginning with Mīr Muḥammad Purāni's *Nusratnāmā-i-Tarkhān*,[1] written before 1562-63, and followed by Mīr M'asūm's *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, written in 1599-1600,[2] Idrākī Thattavī's *Beglārnāmā*, written in 1608-09.[3] Tāhīr Muḥammad Nisyāni's *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, completed 1620-21;[4] and Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad's *Tarkhānnāmā* written in 1651.[5] The *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* of Yūsuf Mirāk, written in 1634, gives a description of Sind, in the form of a very detailed administrative gazetteer. Furthermore, a large number of documents on Sind are preserved in a unique collection titled *Jamm-i-Badī*, though belonged to a period between 1710-33 A.D., compiled by Jān Muḥammad

1 Recently published, ed. Ansar Zahid Khan, Karachi, 2000. It is based on the unique manuscript in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Lytton Farsiya Akhbar, no.156.

2 Ed. U.M.Daudpota, Poona, 1938.

3 Ed.N.A.Baloch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1980.

4 Ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1964.

5 Ed.Husamuddin Rashidi,Hyderabad, Sind,1965

Munshī Thattavī, in 1733-34.[6] Besides Qābil Khān's *Ādāb-i-'Alamgīrī* and documents in such earlier collections as *Nigārnāmā-i-Munshī* of Malikzādā and *Bayāz-i-Khūshbui,* [7] which give valuable information about Sind. Then there is another Persian source which belongs to late eighteenth century *Tūhfat'ul Kirām* written in 1766-7,[8] and *Muqālāt-i-Shu'arā* in 1760 by 'Alī Sher 'Qanī Thattavī in 1767-68,[9] and 1760-61 respectively. It provides valuable information about Governors of Sind in addition to detailed list given by M.Athar Ali in *The Apparatus of the Empire*, and of Nādir Shāh's invasion and subsequent division of Sind and also biographies of saints and literary persons of Sind.

*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* and *Akbarnāmā* of Abu'l Fazl remained an incomparable source which is quite rich in information about the topography, economy, administration, and administrative division of the region of Sind. For the coming of Arghuns in Sind, *Baburnāmā*

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6 *Kitab-i-Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 28b,30a-b.Transcribed, no. 124, Department of History Library,Aligarh Muslim University. These documents are titled *Jamm-i-Badī,* compiled by one Jān Muḥammad Munshī son of Muḥammad Ārif presumably after 1733-34 A.D., these documents dates between 1703-04 to 1733-34 A.D.

7 *Bayāz-i-Khushbuī,* MS I.O.828,ff180a. (Rotograph no.194,History Department Library,Aligarh Muslim University)

8 Ed.Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad, Sind, 1971.

9 Ed.Husamuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1957.

provides detailed information about Arghun lineage, whose information is further corroborated by the regional histories of Sind. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* further enriches information after Akbar, and then for Shāhjahān's reign, I have mainly relied on Lāhorī's *Bādshāhnāmā* and *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī.*

Besides these, other sources shedding light on economic and other aspects of history of Sind region, such as English Factory Records, Petition of John Spiller in Sloanne collection, and Travelers' Accounts, Numismatic and Epigraphic evidence is also forthcoming. For the architecture of Sind, I have mainly relied on the Archaeological Survey Report by Henry Cousens' *Antiquities of Sind,* and A.H.Dani, *Thatta-Islamic Architecture,* while for the topography; I have mainly consulted Gazetteers, H.T. Lambrick's *Sind- A General Introduction*; M.R.Haig's *Indus Delta Country*, and *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* by Irfan Habib.

# CHAPTER 1

# THE MUHGAL STATE IN SIND

## 1.1: The Conquest of Sind by Akbar

The conquest of Sind as mentioned earlier, began in 1574-75, with *sarkār* Bhakkar coming under Mughal sway and being made a *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Multan. Banwāli Das was appointed the *karōrī*, (Revenue Collector) of *sarkār* Bhakkar in 1574-75.[1] The name of Tarsūn Khān,[2]son of Shāh Muḥammad Sa'iful Mulk, was proposed to be a commandant of Bhakkar. But senior nobles requested Akbar not to appoint a son of Sa'iful Mulk to such frontier territory. As a result Tarsūn Khān was recalled to Agra,[3] and in his place Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad, *Mīr-i-'Adl* (judge) of Amroha, a personal friend of

1 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 254; M.Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire,* (will be referred as *The Apparatus*) New Delhi, 1985, p.40.

2 Tarsūn Khan was a *manṣabdār* of 5000 (*Ā'īn*, vol I, p.160).When Bhakkar fell to Mughal forces, firstly it was decided thatTarsūn Muḥammad Khān will be given the charge, but then he was called to Agra, and in his place Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad *Mīr-i-'Adl* of Amroha, a personal friend of Badāunī, was appointed as *hakim* with a raised *manṣab* of 1000.Since Mīr Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was a nephew of Saif'ul Mulk, the ruler of Gajristan region of Khurasan under Safawids. *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 245; *Mūntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,* vol II, p.210, vol III, p.76.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Sind* p.245. According to Abu'l Faẓl, "the government of Bhakkar was entrusted to Tarsūn Khān who hastened to province." Abu'l Faẓl, *Akbarnāmā,* Bib. Ind, ed. Calcutta, 1873-87. Vol III, pp 91, 92. M. Athar Ali has also mentioned Tarsūn Khan, as *Hakim* of Bhakkar in 982 A.H.; probably he relied on *Akbarnā*mā. ( *The Apparatus*, p.4).

Badāūnī, was appointed as the commandant of Bhakkar in 1576; with a raised *manṣab* of 1000.[4] The entire administration of Bhakkar was now setup according to, the standard Mughal pattern, with commandants or sub-governors *(ḥākim/faūjdār)* usually transferred after every two to three years.

After Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad, his son Abu'l Fazl, was appointed to the government of Bhakkar [5] in the year 1576. But he was soon replaced by Phūl Malik, entitled 'Itimād Khān, a eunuch, in Feb 1578.[6] After his assassination by a party of soldiers, the Emperor assigned the territory in *jāgīr* to Fatḥ Khān Bahādur, Raja Parmānand, and Raja Tōdar Mal.[7] After two year, Parmānand was recalled,[8] and his *jāgīr* was added to that of Fatḥ Khān, with an increased *manṣab.*[9] His agent *(wakīl)*, Shahāb Khān, a *zamīndār* of Samāna,[10] was an inexperienced man. Due to wrong advice from him, Fatḥ Khān carried

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4 Badaūnī writes that "Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad ,*Mīr-i-'Adl* of Amroha, was appointed to the government of Bhakkar in the year 984 A.H." 'Abdul Qādir Badāunī, *Mūntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,* Vol III, p.76. While Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī says that "he arrived at Bhakkar on Ramzan 11, 983 A.H. (14th December 1575), *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp.245, 246

5 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp. 246, 247; *The Apparatus*, p. 5.

6 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p.247; *The Apparatus*, p. 6. Mīr Ma'ṣūm depicts him as a cruel man, who did not deal kindly with the soldiers, peasants and nobles. (*Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p.247)

7 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp. 246-47. M. Athar Ali has mentioned Fatḥ Khān as *Faūjdār* of Bhakkar. (*The Apparatus*, p.7.)

8 That makes it 1580 A.D. (*Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 246-47).

9 *Ibid.*

10.*Ibid.*

out a raid on the people of Khān Nāhar, and led a force against the fort of Kin- Kot which was in the hands of Ibrāhim Nāhar.[11] In a battle, Fatḥ Khān suffered heavy losses. When Emperor came to know of this reverse, he immediately resumed Fatḥ Khān's *jāgīr*, and assigned it to Nawwāb Muḥammad Sādiq Khān;[12] who was entrusted with the task of annexing Thaṭṭa. He arrived at Bhakkar on Tuesday, Feb, 1586.

Meanwhile at Thaṭṭa, Mirza Bāqī Muḥammad Tarkhān had killed himself with a dagger in the year 1585.[13] There were two claimants to the throne, Mirza Payāndāh Muḥammad, and Mirza Muẓaffar Muḥammad. But finally the son of Mirza Payāndāh Muḥammad, Mirza Jānī Beg, seized the throne.[14] He was still busy with the affairs of restoring law and order in the country in 1586, when Akbar entrusted Muḥammad Sādiq Khān with the task of invading Thatta;[15]Muḥammad Sādiq marched towards Siwistan

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11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid*, p.247; *The Apparatus*, p.10.

13 Tāhir Muḥmmad Nisyanī, *Tārikh-i-Ṭāhirī*, ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Pakistan, 1964. p.155-158. In order to improve relations with Mughal Emperor, Mirza Bāqī Tarkhān had sent his envoy including Sayyed Jalāl Mirza Salīh and Khwāja Amīr Beg (the *Diwan)*, and even sent his daughter and Sindhi Begum to Emperor Akbar, but Akbar had refused the offer. (*Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, pp. 148-50).

14 *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī*,pp. 160-68.

15 *Tārīkh -i-Sind*, p. 247; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, p.169.

(Sehwan). He overthrew a Tarkhān army at Patar,[16] in Sehwan; and won it. Shābān Qūli Arghun, who was the commander of Tarkhān forces, was taken prisoner and twelve *ghūrab* (war boats) were also seized.[17] After this victory Sādiq Khān laid siege to the fort of Sehwan.[18] At this juncture, Mirza Jānī Beg was keen to show his friendly attitude towards Emperor Akbar; so he responded immediately to his *farmān*.[19] According to *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, "Mirza Jānī had even prepared his brother Mirza Shāhrūkh to be sent to the court with presents."[20] But siege of Sehwan continued .The besieged led by Bulbul Khān. Mulla Gadā 'Alī, Bhai Khān [son of Mehtar Kariyā Lahāna],[21] who were inside the fort, however continued to resist. Sādiq Khān was ultimately forced to retreat.[22] At the same time Mirza Jānī Beg also arrived at Sehwan, and when Sādiq Khān passed by the Lakhi hills, Mirza Jānī opened fire on him.[23]In the meantime an imperial *farmān* arrived, to the effect that Mirza Jānī Beg was held

16 *Tārīkh -i-Sind,* p.247.
17 *Ibid*, p. 248
18 *Ibid,* p. 248; *Akbarnāmā,* vol III, p. 495.
19 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* pp.170-71. In this *farmān* Mirza Jānī Beg was asked to pay homage and struck Akbar's name in the coins, and to recite the *khutbā* in Emperor's name.
20 *Ibid.*
21 *Ibid,* p. 171.
22 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 248.
23 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 248. Jānī Beg's army comprised local tribes like, Samejahs, Sammah, Sumrahs, Ghors [or Kahars], Palejah, Nakamarah, Samejah Dal etc; who used to attack imperial army at night. (*Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p. 172.)

to have dutifully submitted with a suitable tribute to the court; and so Sādiq Khān was ordered to return back to the court.[24]

In February 1588, Bhakkar was given in *jāgīr* to Isma'il Khān, and his son Rahmān Qūli Beg.[25]But soon after the *jāgīr* was transferred to Shīroya Sultān. In the beginning of Nov 1588, he came to Bhakkar.[26] And yet shortly thereafter, Bhakkar was again given in *jāgīr* to Muḥammad Sādiq Khān; and his son Mirza Muḥammad Zāhid, came to Bhakkar in the year 1589.[27] Khwāja Muḥammad Ma'sūm, the historian, was Sādiq Khān's *wakīl* or agent. His second period of assignment was marked by a drought and high food prices. Meanwhile Emperor Akbar, had moved his court to Lahore.[28] But Jānī Beg did not pay his homage, and pretended to be independent.[29] As a result 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, was sent to Thaṭṭa to

24 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp 248-249; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, p. 173. Sayyed Jalāl was sent as an envoy of Mirza Jānī to imperial court. *Akbarnāmā*. Part III, p. 509. *Ḥākim* 'Ain-ul Mulk was sent with his ambassador. Nizāmuddin Ahmad, *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol II, p. 372.

25 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*. p. 249.

26 *Ibid*. p. 250.

27 *Ibid*

28 *Ibid*.

29 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 250; *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol II, p. 374. The author of *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* place Jānī Beg responsible for this because after sending a letter through his brother ShāhRukh, he was satisfied and did not do anything till the imperial forces entered into Sind. (*Tārīkh -i- Ṭāhirī*, pp.174, 175.)

conquer it, and to chastise the Baluchis.[30] Abu'l Faẓl tells us that 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān infact modified his plans, "Khān-i-Khānān's appointment as a Governor of Multan, was made for the Qandahar expedition, and he was ordered to march via Baluchistan. But he opted for easier gains at Thaṭṭa than that of Qandahar, and preferred to march via Bhakkar.[31]The poet Abu'l Faiẓ Faiẓī, has described the well prepared march in his words as '*Qasd-i-Thatta,*' i.e. "Expedition to Thatta."[32]

Khān-i-Khānān arrived at Bhakkar before November 1590, and marched towards Sehwan.[33] He held counsel with his nobles whether to march towards Thatta or to besiege of Sehwan. All agreed to besiege Sehwan, since it was on the direct road and, so it was better to secure it first.[34]

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30 *Tārīkh-i-Sind* p, 251; *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol II p. 374. Nizamūddin Ahmad gives a detailed list of *amīrs* who accompanied Khān-i-Khānān, as Shāh Beg Khān Kabulī, Farīdūn Barlas, Sayyed Bahaūddin Bakhtiyār Beg, Qara Beg, Muḥammad Khān Niāzi and Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī. Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī was assigned *parganas* of Darbela, Gagri and Chanduka of *sarkār* Bhakkar in *jāgīr* to him (*Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 251).

31 Abu'l Faẓl, *Maktūbāt-i-Allāmi,* C.f. Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, "*The Mughal Annexation of Sind-A diplomacies and Military History,*" in *Akbar and his India,* ed. by Irfan Habib, Delhi 1997. p.38. For the arrival of Khān-i-Khānāna ,see *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p.186.

32 *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol II ,p.374.

33 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p.251; *Tārīkh -i-Ṭāhirī*, p.181

34 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p.252. According to *Tārīkh -i-Ṭāhirī,* "this area was inhabited by tribes like Baluch, Nahmardi, Jokia, and Jats, extending towards Kuch, Makran and Umarkot, who never acknowledge the master. (*Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*,p.182)

As decided, the Indus River was crossed and batteries were raised to secure a passage above the river.[35] But when he came to know about the arrival of Jānī Beg towards them with all the *zamīndārs* of the country, many *ghūrabs* and boats and well equipped artillery to oppose him, he abandoned the siege, and went forward.[36] He selected Shāh Beg to act against the fort of Shahgar in the province of Nasrpur, where Abu'l Qāsim resided. Another party was told to march against the fort of Nairun Kot.[37] Jānī Beg encamped himself at the bank of river near village Bohri above Nasrpur.[38]When Khān-i-Khānān came near by Jānī Beg, he sent hundred and twenty armed *ghūrabs* and many boats under the command of Khūsraū Khān; along with army to make an attack on Khān-i-Jahān from both the sides.[39] Mirza Jānī Beg announced to his soldiers whoever will bring the head of enemy, will get 500 *kābars* as *in'ām.*[40]

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35 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p.252. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p. 82. Tāhir Muḥammad tells that Jānī Beg realized that "he had committed a great fault of generalship by not taking any measures to defend the pass."

36 *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol II, p.375.

37 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p.183.

38 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p.252.

39 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p.252. At this juncture Khān-i-Khānān was provided financial help from Emperor Akbar, and artillery also. He also sent Raī Rai Singh, who was having a *manṣab* of 4000, by way of Jaisalmer. *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol II, p.375.

40 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p.183. According to *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* "the exchange value of *kābar* was,1 *kābar* = 12 *mīrīs,* 72 *mīrīs* = 1 *murādi tankā.*"

Khān-i-Khānān had placed his battery fortification under the command of Muḥammad Mūqīm Khān Bakhshī, 'Alī Mardān Khān, Mūrid Khān Sarmādi and Ma'sūm Bhakkarī.[41] Khūsraū Khān had to pass this point. Khūsraū Khān's boats arrived in the evening of 23rd July 1591.[42] But the guns in imperial fortification were placed too high, that the balls passed over the *ghūrabs* and fell on imperial army, which was sent to other side.[43] The muzzles of the gun were then placed accordingly, and it targeted nine boats of Khūsraū Khān.[44] After sometime, Sindhi war boats started to retreat; Khūsraū Khān's boat was also burnt, along with the boats which were carrying Portuguese.[45]

After this the Imperial forces proceeded towards the encampment of Jānī Beg. But here Mirza Jānī Beg blocked supply of provision of Imperial forces.[46] At this time Khān-i- Khānān changed his route towards Jun, and lifted siege, and divided his army to march

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41 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 252

42 *Ibid*

43 *Ibid.* p. 253

44 *Ibid.* But Jānī Beg's boats had party of carpenters also, who immediately repaired it.

45 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭahīrī,* p.185; *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 253. These *firungīs* were Portuguese, and one of them was chief of the Portuguese settlement of Hormuz, whose name was Charkas Daflir, who used to come yearly from Hormuz to Thatta. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī,* p. 185.

46 *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol II, p.376; *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 254.

in different directions, one proceeded towards Sehwan another towards Thatta, and other towards Badin and Fatḥ Bagh, and Jun, and Shāh Beg towards Shahgarh,[47] which had been built by Shāh Qāsim Khān Arghun. Sayyed Bahaūddīn, and Mīr Ma'sūm went to Sehwan.[48] Mirza Jānī also marched towards Lakhi hills with ten thousand horses, *ghurābs* with cannon numerous body of infantry and archers.[49] Khān-i- Khānān sent Bakhtiyār Beg, Hasan 'Alī 'Arab, Jānī Beg, Maqsūd Beg for assistance.[50] Mirza Jānī also sent reinforcement under Muḥammad Khān Niāzi, Bahādur Khān and Daūlat Khān.[51]

A bitter encounter took place, as a result the forces of Jānī Beg suffered and took to flight,[52] and retreated to Unarpur; which was again besieged by Khān-i-Khānān.[53] Jānī Beg tried for negotiation and offered to surrender thirty *ghūrabs* and fort of Sehwan to Imperial

47 *Tārīkh -i-Sind,* p. 254.
48 *Ibid,* p. 255
49 *Ibid,* p. 254.
50 *Ibid,* p. 255.
51 *Ibid.*
52 *Ibid.* Now Jānī Beg's army suffered so much due to shortage of supply that his men killed their horses and camels every day and ate their flesh. (*Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol II, p. 377)
53 *Tārīkh-i-Sind* , p. 255. While *Tabqāt-i- Akbarī* say that, "the terms demanded fort of Sehwan, Jānī Beg's daughter to Khān-i-Khānān's son Mirza Irīj, and twenty *ghūrabs.*" (*Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol II, p. 377).

authority.[54] Khān-i-Khānān overruled them, but made his own terms, which were conveyed to Jānī Beg, the proposal included a *manṣab* of 5000 for Jānī Beg.[55] He departed with Mirza's envoy Rifāqat 'Alī Kabulī.[56]

After this settlement Mirza Jānī Beg retreated towards Thaṭṭa, were he was joined later by Khān-i-Khānān, twenty *kurohs* from Thaṭṭa at the river of Fatḥ Bagh.[57] After Akbar took charge of the province which now became part of the Mughal Empire.

Mirza Jānī Beg Tarkhān, having submitted to 'Abdu'r Raḥim Khān-i-Khānān, accepted the suzerainty of Emperor Akbar. The submission involved, as a *farmān* of Akbar made clear, the secession of *sarkār* Sehwan or Siwistan and the port of Lahari Bandar to the Imperial administration.[58] Technically, Mirza Jānī Beg became *jāgīrdār* of the remaining portion of his original principality, against which he received a rank of 3000 (presumably *ẓāt* and *sawār*, since the latter rank was introduced only after A.D.1595).

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54 *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 256. The envoy reached infront of Mirza Jānī Beg who was wearing blue garment at that time, mourning his dear ones (*Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p. 197).

55 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p. 199. Mirza Jānī's noble were already secretly corresponding with Khān-i-Khānān. *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, p. 159.

56 *Tārīk-i-Sind,* p. 256.

57 *Ibid,* p. 256.

58 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni,* vol II, p. 91.

## 1.2: The Transition of Sind to a Mughal Province

The conquest of Sind by 'Abdu'r Raḥim Khān-i-Khānān (1590-91 A.D.), extended Akbar's control to the mouth of the Indus. Its erstwhile ruler Mirza Jānī Beg Tarkhān , on accepting the Mughal suzerainty was granted a *manṣab* of 3000, and was thus reduced to a position of Mughal *manṣabdār* . But Akbar as an Emperor was not satisfied with just the political conquest of the new region; rather he wanted to make it a part of the Muhal Empire. Therefore he very diplomatically made this region a part of *suba* Multan and did not give it the full status of *ṣūba*, then in order to keep its ruler in good humour, he made Mirza Jānī Beg the *ṣūbedār* of Multan, while Mirza Shāhrukh was given Thatta in *jāgīr* .The real motive behind this action was to remove Jānī Beg from his seat of power in order to lessen his influence and undermine his power. But this action of Akbar was resented by the people of Thatta, who out of resentment started emigrating from there through Lahari Bandar. *Akbarnamā* records ten thousand emigrants' men and women of Arghun tribe crossing through river in boats which created trouble for the riverrine traffic.[1] To solve the matter Akbar restored the *jāgīr* of Thatta to Jānī Beg, but considering the importance

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1 *Akbarnāmā*, vol III, pp. 637, 642.

of port area in overland movement and to bring it under immediate central command he incorporated Lahari Bandar into *khāliṣa* and gave Sehwan in *jāgīr* to Bakhtiyār Beg Turkmān to govern, [2] as this *sarkār* was a gateway to lower Sind; its control was also necessary. Thus apparently Jānī Beg was holding Thatta as his *jāgīr* in lieu of his salary without its two strategically important territories and thereby, assuring the Mughal control over this region.

Under previous dynasties Thatta had been ruled independently, maintaining a status of a separate province, yet when *Ā'īn* mentions it, it places Thatta under *ṣūba* Multan, reducing its importance to a sub-*ṣūba* a position quite similar to that of Orissa.[3] The Mughal administration very cautiously made this region subordinate to *ṣūba* Multan by including it as a *sarkār* designated Thatta of *ṣūba* Multan; despite the fact that this very *sarkār* itself comprised of four more *sarkārs,* as Abū'l Faẓl in his chapter the 'Account of Twelve *Ṣūbas'* in

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2 *Ibid.* Though Yusuf Mirak in the seventeenth century mentions that along with Lahari Bandar, Sehwan was also incorporated into *khālisa. Mazhar-i-Shajahani,* p.91.This *sarkār* was transferred from *ṣūba* Thatta to *ṣūba* Multan sometimes before 1656, when it appears on the revenue list under Multan and not under Thatta. *Dastūr-i-'amal-i-Shāhjahānī* (1701-2), Br. Mu.,Add. 6588,ff,26b-28b.(Rotograph No. 56, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University)

3 *Ā'īn*,vol II, pp.47,62. Orissa was a sub- *ṣūba* of the *ṣūba* of Bengal having five *sarkārs* within it.

the *Ā'īn* explicitly says that, "this territory is fourth *sarkār* of *ṣūba* Multan, comprising of five *sarkārs* (namely Thatta, Chachgan, Siwistan, Nasrpur and Chakarhāla)."[4] Lately even during Jahangir's reign, though *sāhib-ṣūbgī* (Governorship) was given to the officers of high rank and they were being designated *ṣūbedārs*, yet for Thatta Jahangir uses the term *vilāyat* and not *ṣūba.*[5]It is, therefore, surprising to note that in some of the modern works, Mirza Jānī Beg and his son Ghāẓi Beg are designated as Governors of the *ṣūba* of Sind,[6] which is definitely not corroborated by any of the contemporary sources. In fact, no separate *ṣūba* of Sind was constituted during this time, the very first reference of Thaṭṭa as *ṣūba* comes only during Shāhjāhān's reign , when it revenue figures appeared separately in 1628-29, under the heading of *ṣūba* Thatta and not under *ṣūba* Multan.[7] The fact that both

4 *Ā'īn,* vol II, pp. 163-4.

5 Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, (*henceforth called *Tuzuk)* ed., Syed Ahmed Khan ,Ghazipur ,1864. pp. 156, 196.

6 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The Mughal State-Structure or Process', *IESHR, XXIX*, (3), 1992, p.310, f.n. 42, and its criticism by Sunita Zaidi, 'Akbar's Annexation of Sind', in *Akbar and his India,* Delhi,1997, p.31

7 Revenue statistics in *Bayāz-i-Khushbuī,* MS I.O.828,ff180a. (Rotograph no.194,History Department Library,Aligarh Muslim University);even Lāhorī in *Bādshāhnāma* , first time used the term *ṣūba* for Thatta in 1629, when Amir Khān , son of Mīr Qasīm Khān Namkīn was appointed its *ṣūbedār.* Lāhorī,

*Akbarnāma* and *Tuzuk* used the term *ḥākim* of Thatta for Jānī Beg and Ghāzī Beg, and *Akbarnāmā* mentions Jānī Beg as the *ṣūbedār* of Multan in 1592, and the term *ḥākim* of Thatta in 1593.[8]

It seems that Jānī Beg on surrendering to Mughal authority was awarded, not only his *manṣab* was increased to 5000, but also prince Khūsraū, Akbar's grandson was betrothed to Jānī Beg's daughter.[9] According to Badaūnī, Jānī Beg, tried hard to win Akbar's favour, by accepting *Dīn-i-Ilāhī,* [10] yet he could not gain the total confidence of the Emperor, who never allowed Jānī Beg even to go back to Thatta . He was obliged to run its administration through deputies, who

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*Bādshāhnāma*,ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin, and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib.Ind. Calcutta, 1867-8, vol I, p.287.

8.*Akbarnāma*, vol III, pp. 637, 642; *Tuzuk*, pp. 33, 63, 110. Though, Jahāngīr in *Tuzuk* for the first time use the term *ṣūba* for Thatta when prince Shahryār was made its *ṣūbedār* in 1625. *Tuzuk*, p. 397. Thus it can safely be said that perhaps Thatta got the full status of *ṣūba* somewhere between 1624-29, much after the death of Ghazi Beg.

9 *Tuzuk,* p.8;Mulla Abd'al Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'asir-i-Rahīmī,*ed.M.Hidayat Husain,Bib. Ind. 3 vols,Calcutta,1910-31.vol III.pp. 342, 348; Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Zakhirāt-ul-Khawānīn*, ed.Sayyed Moin'ul Haq, 3 vols, Karachi, 1961-1974, vol I, p. 37.

10 *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārīkh*,vol II,p.304. Badāunī goes to the extent of alleging that Jānī Beg and some others gave in writing that they have renounced Islam religion followed by their forefathers and have joined the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*.(notably one of the rare contemporary references of the order established by Akbar as *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*.)

transmitted him, the revenues from his *jāgīr*.[11] He did not come back to his *jāgīr* during the rest of his life and died at Burhanpur on 1 February, 1601, Akbar however, permitted his burial in town of Thatta.[12]

After the death of Mirza Jānī Beg, his seventeen years old son Ghāẓī Beg, was conferred *farmān* and *khilat*, and was also given the responsibility to manage the affairs of Jānī Beg's *jāgīr*[13] For two years Ghāzī Beg on the pretext of being occupied and burdened with the internal problems, and with the assistance of Tālib Isfahānī remained busy in restoring the administration in Thatta. According to *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, "Bābā Ṭālib was sent as an envoy from the capital [Agra] to

11 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, p.202.

12 *Akbarnāmā,* vol III, p.783; his body was brought to Thatta by Khwāja Muḥammad Qūr Begī on the imperial orders; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p.208.

13 There is a large variation in the contemporary sources regarding this confirmation of the government of Thatta on Mirza Ghāzī Beg. *Akbarnāmā* says that after the death of Mirza Jānī Beg, "a *farmān* and *khilat* was sent to Mirza Ghāzī Beg in his absence;" while according to *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī,* after the death of Jānī Beg it was decided that his son Ghāzī Beg should succeed to the government of Thatta.....and Bābā Ṭālib Isfahānī came from the capital [Agra] as an envoy to Ghāzī Beg and stayed with him while he was busy dealing with the internal challenges."Yet it does not verify to whether he was confirmed on his fathers *jāgīr* or not. The only reference of conferring the responsibility of government affairs through a *farmān* of Akbar comes from *Tuzuk* only [even before his formal submission to the Mughal Emperor at Agra].*Akbarnāmā*,vol III,p.783; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* pp. 210, 239;*Tuzuk,* vol I, p. 109.

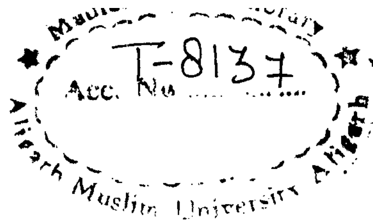
Thatta, where he stayed for two years as Mirza Ghāzī was busy with the internal matters."[14] The considerable delay by Ghāzī Beg in personal appearance before the Emperor to pay his obeisance, made the Emperor doubt his intentions and therefore Sa'id Khān Chaghtaī was ordered to bring the young Mirza from Thatta to the royal court.[15]Meanwhile Abū'l Qāsim Khān Namkīn was also ordered to escort Mirza Ghāzī to the royal court, who arrived at Nasarpur with a large force; and sent ahead one of his servants Mīr 'Ata Allāh Mashhādī as a messenger to Ghāzi Beg.[16] On hearing the news of the arrival of imperial officers along with the force, Mirza Ghāzī wrote to

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14 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, p. 239. In Thatta Ghāzī Beg's succession to the throne was opposed by Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān II, son of Mirza Jān Bābā, brother of Muḥammad Bāqī; grandfather of Jānī Beg. But Jānī Beg's *wakīl* Khusraū Khān Chīrkīs supported Ghāzī Beg and 'Isa Tarkhān II was compelled to leave Sind. From there 'Isa Tarkhān II went to kiss the feet of the Emperor Akbar. Later on during the period of Jahāngīr, he was given high rank and was appointed to Deccan. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, pp. 380-381; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khawānīn*, vol II, pp. 210-11.

15 According to *Tuzuk*, "Sa'id Khān who was at Bhakkar was ordered [by the Emperor] to console Mirza Ghāzī, and to bring him to the royal court." *Tuzuk*, vol I, p.109; but according to *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, "to capture Mirza Ghāzī , Akbar had bestowed the region of Bhakkar and Siwi in *jāgīr* to Sa'id Khān, who came to Darbela for the same." *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*,, vol II, p. 112.

16 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.112. This time Mirza Ghāzī was dealing with a local *zamindār* Jām Dadū when news of the arrival of Sa'id Khān came in the ears of Ghāzī Beg, and he was shocked to hear that. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* ,p.239-40




Abū'l Qāsim Khān. "I submit to the orders of Emperor. You go back, and I shall follow you."[17] But his request was not acceded to, Sa'id Khān and Abū'l Qāsim Khān ensured that Ghāzī Beg accompanies them to Agra adhering to the *farmān* . He was accordingly brought to Agra where the court then was.[18]At Agra Ghāzī Beg was received in a friendly manner, his fathers' *jāgīr* and *manṣab* were conferred upon him by Akbar along with gift of fine sword.[19]Ghāzī Beg remained there and was apparently not allowed to go to Sind. This continued till the accession of Jahāngīr in 1605. On the request of Sa'id Khān Chaghtaī,[20] Ghāẓī was allowed by the Emperor Jahāngīr to go back to Thatta, and later "a portion of *ṣūba* Multan", and Qandahar was also added to his *jāgīr*, in addition to Thatta with the rank of 5000/5000.[21] The fact that

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17 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.112.

18 *Zakhirāt-ul-Khawānīn*, vol I, p.190; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhānī,* vol II, pp. 111, 112.

19 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p. 242.

20 He developed fatherly attitude towards Mirza Ghāzī Beg,and his son Sa'dullāh also became a close friend of Mirza. It was owing to this friendly relations that Sa'id Khān pleaded for Ghāzī Beg,s release to go back to Thatta. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, pp. 241-242; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khawānīn*, vol I, p.190.

21 *Tuzuk*, vol I, pp. 8, 33. In *Tuzuk*, Jahāngīr says that, "I will allow Mirza Ghāzī to leave [the court], only after the engagement between Khūsraū and Ghāzī's sister materializes."May be Jahāngīr wanted to tie Mirza's hand through this matrimonial alliance as happened with the Rajputs.It is not clear from the sources

Manohar, the court painter of Jahangir made portrait of Ghāzī Beg suggests that he was among the notable nobles of Jahāngīr. He is shown wearing *dū- patkā* (double waist-band, a typical dress code of Jahāngīrī nobles (plate I).[22]

Jahāngīr's consent to Ghāzī Beg for leaving the court and going back to his *jāgīr,* though a reversal of Akbar's policy, who did not allow Jānī Beg to leave the court even after his submission was a sign of Mughal administrative assessment that by now Sind had been fully assimilated in the empire and no apprehensions of Ghāzī Beg, thus, was allowed to exercise full authority as a Mughal *ṣūbedār* over the region. This was because there was no other Mughal official in the region who could claim with him the responsibilities of government. Consequently, he started behaving almost like an independent ruler.

In Thatta at the initial stage, Ghāzī Beg faced some internal problems, his father's ministers 'Arab Kokā, Mulla Gadā 'Alī and Bhāī Khān Lutfullāh neither paid respect to him nor cooperated with

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whether this marriage was materialized or not, but Ghāzī Beg was finally allowed to go back to his territory.

22 S.C.Clark, *Indian Drawing; The school of Jahangir:Thirty Mughal Paintings*, New Delhi,1983. Plate 11, no. 13.



Plate I
Painting of Mirza Ghāzī Beg by Manohar

him,[23]according to the author of *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, "Bhaī Khān and Mulla Gadā 'Alī, whom the late Mirza [Jānī Beg] had sent from the Deccan, making them his agents, did not even properly attend on the young Mirza out of pride and arrogance."[24] Ghāẓī Beg, at this stage, showed wisdom and administrative skills by appointing Ahmad Beg Sultān as his main deputy (*wakīl-i-kūl),* on the recommendation of Bhaī Khān. This to some extent won Bhaī Khān to Ghāzī Beg. Ghāzī Beg gave Ahmed Beg Sultān control over administrative and revenue matters, and also bestowed the title of 'Itimād Khān on him.[25] Ghāẓī Beg while made some concessions to in the older ministers but also and appointed new officers of his choice.[26] Mūlah, a Hindu from Alor, son of Mehta Korīya was appointed by him as chief accountant, or *diwān*, and was given the title of Hindū Khān.[27] When Ghāẓī Beg had

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23 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, , p.215; Ghāzī Beg had appointed Lutfullāh as his *wakīl*( he was son of Khūsraw Khān Chirkīs) and even given him the title of Bhaī Khān.*Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*,vol II, p.23,though *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* does not corroborate the fact , inspite it says that he was appointed *wakīl* by Jānī Beg. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p. 215.

24 *Ibid*, p .215.

25 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* pp. 215-216, 260; *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, p.166.

26 *Ibid,* p.216; *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, p.166.

27 *Tūhfatu'l Kirām*., vol III, part I, p.166. It is to be assumed 'Qani was drawing this information from an earlier source; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn* says that Hindu Mula was given the title of Hindu Khan. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol II, p.26.

succeeded to government, Kōka Lang who was his main counselor or *atāliq*, would not obey his orders and even the robes of honor Ghāẓī Beg gave. Ghāẓī Beg now turned upon Kōka Lang, and gave his *jāgīr* to Mullā Yaqūb, who had been the prayer leader at his *madarsā*[28]. A protocol for the court was also ordained by which the *manṣabdārs* up to the rank of 1,000 were ordered to stand with folded hands while those above it could sit at a distance in a respectful manner.[29]It seems that official hierarchy of Ghazi Beg's nobles was entirely subjected to his discretion.

Ghāẓī Beg, with the help of his new *wakīl* Ahmad Beg, made changes in the internal administration of Thaṭṭa; firstly to reform the existing system, and secondly to break the powers of the old officials by promoting those who helped him in his work and undermining those who went against his wishes.[30] When the old minister Bhaī Khān, in order to win support of the officials, increased pay, stipend, grants and daily allowances of the officials and soldiers,[31] hoping that thereby the entire administration and finances would be adversely affected, while

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28 *Tūhfatu'l Kirām.*, vol III, part I, p. 166.

29 *Tarkhānnāmā*, cf. M.Saleem Akhtar, *Sind under the Mughals*, Karachi,1990. P.84.

30 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, pp.221-22.

31 *Ibid*, p. 221.

he would himself gain widespread support. Ahmad Beg adroitly turned the tables on him and the other older officials, by increasing the *jam'a* of the *jāgīrs* to accord with actual receipts (*ḥāṣil*) which he got investigated, and thus resolved the increased pressure. Rather, the officials turned now to Ahmed Beg Sultān, since he had the control over their income.[32] Ahmad Beg also replaced the revenue-collectors (*shiqqdārs*) and record-keepers (*kārkun*) in the *pargana* of Ghāẓī Beg's *khāliṣa*, and thus managed to increase its revenue.[33] He thus improved the finances by expanding the size of Ghāẓī Beg's *khāliṣa* at the expense of the revalued *jāgīrs* and increasing its revenues. He also made provisions for the cash salaries (*naqdī*) while resuming the *jāgīrs* into *khāliṣa*.[34] Ghāẓī Beg now proceeded to replace the old officials with his own nominees. He ordered the replacement of Khūsraū Beg of Thaṭṭa with Hindū Khān [actual name Sa'indināh], and gave the charge of Nasrpur to Shāhbāzī, who was an attendant of his pigeons and dogs,

32 *Ibid*, pp. 221-22.

33 *Ibid*, pp.222-223.

34 *Ibid*, p.223

after giving him the title of Shāhbāz Khān; he replaced the sons of Qāsim Khān Arghun.[35]

Ghāzī Beg, while displaying his excellent administrative capabilities, tried each and every thing to keep his subjects comfortable and satisfied. Jahāngīr in the *Tuzuk* praises his administrative skills; [36] he even referred Ghāzī Beg as *farzand*[37],infact in his letters and *farmans* Jahāngīr refers him as, "worthy and eminent Bābā Ghāzī Beg Bahādūr Tarkhān,"[38] and not even at a single place makes any remark against him. Rather, in the year 1606-1607 A.D., he was given the charge of Qandāhar, in addition to Thaṭṭa, a single token of confidence.[39] Earlier also, he was entrusted with the task of relieving Qandāhar which was threatened by forces of Husaīn Khān Shāmlu, the Persian governor of Herat. He maintained a good relationship with

35 *Maẓhar-i-Shāhjāhāni,* vol II, pp.41-42; he took this step when he was *ṣūbedār* of Qandāhar in 1606-7; *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, p.166.

36 *Tuzuk* , p. 63.

37 *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol II, p. 22.

38 *Ibid,* though as a person Farīd Bhakkarī does not places him on high platform, he had depicted Ghāzī Beg as a lecherous person who had relations with almost all the young females of Thatta. See pp.27-28; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭahirī* , p.240.

39 *Tuzuk*, p. 63.

Shāh Abbās of Persia, who sent him several *khilats,*[40] along with the royal *farmāns*. Mirza Ghāzī Beg even sent him embassy and entered into direct diplomatic relations with Shāh of Persia. Mirza even composed verses in praise of Shāh Abbās.[41]

In the meantime Ghāẓī Beg's was bestowed with other favours, now he had the whole of Thaṭṭa and Qandāhar, (an undesignated part of Multan) and Siwīstān (Sehwān) in his *jāgīr* along with *khilats ,naqqāra* and jeweled *shamshīr* (sword) by the Emperor himself.[42]Despite Ahmad Beg's excellent administration in Sind,[43]Ghāzī Beg's expenses were so great that he was always in debt.[44] Ultimately, to overcome

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40 See Blochmann's biography of Ghāẓī Beg in his translation of the *Ā'īn*, vol I; *Ā'īn*, Eng tr. by H.Blochmann, ed. Lt. Col. D.C.Phillot, New Delhi,1977, p.392

41 *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol II, p.23. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭahiri*, p. 262.

42 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭahiri* , p.262.

43 *Ibid*, p.260; for the period when Ghāẓī Beg held the charge of Qandāhar for a second time. *Maẓhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, pp. 111, 112.

44 In the year 1606,Mirza Ghāzī was ordered to go to Qandāhar as the head of Mughal army, to help its commandant Shāh Beg who was fighting with the Qizilbashes in Bast. Complying to the imperial orders Ghāzī Beg left Thatta with Qarā Beg, Tūkhtah Beg,Khwāja Aqīl as *bakhshī*,Naqdī Beg and Qilīch Beg without much money and men power. Therefore Mirza had to take loan from the *bakhshī* (*Akbarnāmā*,vol III, p.828; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭahiri*, pp. 254-55-56; *Tuzuk*, p. 33; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*,vol II, p.22; *Maẓhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.113;similarly when Ghāzī Beg entered Qandāhar on 10 Feb 1607,the situation of his army was so verse due to meager resources that according to *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, "his men(Ghāzī Beg's soldiers)

this problem Ahmed Beg was persuaded to dismiss his officers like Khūsraū Khān and Fatḥullāh, son of Bhai Khān Lutfullāh, and resumed their *jāgīrs* in Sind in Ghāzī Beg's *khāliṣa,* in order to increase his income.[45] He died at a very early age of twenty-five, in the year 1612 A.D., while he was returning from Qandahar.[46]

With the death of Ghāẓī Beg, the rule of Tarkhāns came to an end in Sind, after almost one hundred years.[47] When Ghāẓī Beg's death was reported to Jahāngīr, it seems that he initially played with the idea of continuing the Tarkhān regime in Sind, and for this purpose actually summoned Ghāẓī Beg's *bete noire,* but kinsman 'Isa Tarkhān II, and now a member of the Mughal nobility from the Deccan "to arrange about the business of Thaṭṭa;[48] but apparently, he decided against the head-ache of a Tarkhān feud of Sind. He had already sent 'Abdu'r

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were eating flesh of the dead horses and camels, and Mirza had to borrow money from Sardār Khān and Mīr Buẓurg." *(Tārīkh-i-Ṭahirī,* p.257;*Tuzuk*, p.41.)

45 *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* pp. 163-4.

46 *Tuzuk*, p.63; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol II, pp.23-24..According to Farīd Bhakkarī, "people doubted Bhaī Khān for giving poison to Ghāzī Beg,to which he swore in a meeting by taking Holy Qurān in his hand that he did not do it but Mirza died by taking overdose of liquor." Also see *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* , vol III, p .346.

47 *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol I, p. 99.

48 *Tuzuk*, p. 110.Earlier Jahāngīr thought of assigning the government of Thaṭṭa to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān II,but then he decided against it and instead appointed 'Abdu'r Razzāq Ma'murī. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol II, p.211.

Razzāq Ma'murī, one of the central *bakhshis*, "to settle the country of Thatta,"[49] and now deferred his final decision. Ultimately, Jahāngīr decided to dispense with the practice adopted up till now of continuing Thatta as a Tarkhān principality under the guise of a *jāgīr*. He now chose Mirza Rustam Safawī, a man of the Timūrid clan,to be the *ṣūbedār* of Thatta by raising his rank from 5000/1500 to 5000/5000 to equal that of Ghāẓī Beg.[50] But he was to be no autonomous ruler. Rai Dilīp (promoted to 2000/1000) was sent with him in an undesignated position.

But the changed nature of affairs in Sind was now manifested. Rustam Safawī was replaced in 1614-15 by Tāj Khān Afghan with a rank of only 4000/3000, but he died soon afterwards. He was replaced by Shamshēr Khān, who again in 1616-17 was transferred, to be succeeded by 'Abdu'r Razzāq Ma'murī. A year later Shāh Beg Khān was appointed.[51] Clearly, *sarkār* Thatta had just become an ordinary *jāgīr* to be transferred from one noble to another. The Tarkhān establishment must have been thoroughly dismantled or dispersed as a

49 *Tuzuk*, p. 110; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol II, p.24; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.42.

50 *Tuzuk*, p.128.

51.The *Apparatus*, entries nos. J.399, J.412, J.470. J.481, J.628, J.629, J.745.

result. Since Thatta was a large distinct region, the second natural step was taken, and that was to make Thatta into full fledged *ṣūba*, and the political situation was changed .Thus it appeared as *ṣūba* in Shāhjāhān's reign.[52]

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52.*Bayāz-i-Khushbūi*, ff. 180

### 1.3: Provincial Administration

The conquest of Sind was followed by the penetration of the Imperial administration into this region and, it also ensued the continuity of standard Mughal provincial administrative system, in which the entire Sind as designated was divided into two parts; northern Sind and southern Sind. Northern Sind included two important *sarkārs*, *sarkār* Bhakkar, and *sarkār* Sehwan; of which *sarkār* Bhakkar was placed under *ṣūba* Multan.[1] Sehwan was given in *jāgīr* to be administered by Ba<u>kh</u>tiyār Beg Turkmān while Lahari Bandar of southern Sind was directly taken under *<u>kh</u>āliṣa*.[2] On the other hand, in southern Sind, Thatta earlier designated as *sarkār* was converted into *ṣūba* only during Shāhjahān's reign.[3]

As discussed earlier, Akbar after the conquest of Thatta, appointed Mirza Shāhru<u>kh</u> as the *ḥākim*, a step which was resented by its residents, which led Akbar to avert his policy and made him to continue with its erstwhile rulers, but curbed their powers by keeping them at court. However after Akbar's death, Jahāngīr did not follow

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[1] *Ā'īn* ,vol II, p.163

[2] *Ā'īn*,vol II, p165; *Akbarnāmā*, vol III,p.642; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.91.

[3] *Bayāz-i-<u>Kh</u>ūshbūhi*, f.180a.

this policy as he allowed Mirza Ghāzī Beg to go back to his territory. However, after the death of Mirza Ghāzī Beg, he discontinued the Tarkhān rule and resumed its governance through Imperial administrative machinery, following the set standard Mughal provincial system. Thus the provincial administration followed the division of *ṣūba* into *sarkār*s; *sarkārs* into *parganas/mahals* and *parganas* into *mauẓas*;[4] The *ṣūba* was apparently under Governor, whose post was indeed an important one. He was known by different names as *sāhib-i-ṣūba, nāẓim, ṣūbedār, hākīm, faujdār*. An analysis of the table provided in the Appendix A makes it very clear that in the appointment of *ṣūbedārs*, the Mughal court did not approve of long terms of Governors with some exceptions.[5] Their appointment was made very carefully as they were the strong pillars of ruling bureaucracy. They were either Prince or officers holding the higher ranks. When this appointment was held by a member of royal family then an additional appointment of *ḥākim,* or of *naīb ṣūbedār* was made to help the absentee Prince in running its administration, as is evident in the appointment of Zafar Khān in 1651-52 as *naīb ṣūbedār*

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4 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.208, 210. *Pargana* Haweli Sehwan had fifteen *mauzas*. The author clearly says that a *pargana* is comprised of some *mauẓas*.

5 Izzat Khān served in Sind for more than ten years. See Appendix A.

when Prince Aūrangzēb was its *ṣūbedār* , and of Muḥammad 'Alī and Sayyed Ibrāhim when Sultān Sipir Shīkōh was its *ṣūbedār* in the year 1657-58.. The imperial concern while appointing these governors and other officials in the far western region is amply clear from the list given in Appendix-A, who were being transferred frequently .

This region was an important trading centre with main port Lahari Bandar; its importance can be judged by its immediate incorporation into *khāliṣa,* and the sailing of royal ships from here to Red Sea.[6] However an interesting document (translation given in Appendix-B), has come to light showing how the Mughal administration functioned in provinces, especially in port town where Governors' authority seems to be undermined. This document is in form of a petition in Persian in the British Library, London, Sloane collection, 80b (2) exists, written by the English factor John Spiller, though undated belonged to 1646-47.[7] He refers his petition to *Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik,* the second principal minister in the Mughal

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6 Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and trade in Mughal India*, New Delhi, 2008. pp.251-52.These ships were built at Lahore as Thatta could not provide sufficient timber for its manufacturing.

7 Professor Shireen Moosvi obtained and brought a Xerox copy of it. Since it is in *shikasta,* I am indebted to Professor Irfan Habib for having deciphered it for me. The translation of the document is given in the Appendix B.

administration, in charge of the army, posting and intelligence. Though the name of the minister is not given, a conventional piece of courtesy, he is likely to be Asālat Khān who was *Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik* from 1644-1645 to 1646-1647.[8] Apparently, he was being written to, because Mīrza Mōmin, the *Shāh Bandar*, doubling as *bakhshī* of Thatta was his subordinate, which clearly manifests the continuation of Mughal official hierarchy. The *bakhshī* was a separate department, in fact the *bakhshi* kept a check on the *jāgīrdārs* regarding their troops, delay of payment to the army, and the security of the borders after the transfer of the *jāgīrdār*.[9] Then law and order was apparently under a *faūjdār* (governor or commandant) referred to as the *ḥākim*, and not under *Shāh Bandar*. The *ḥākim* was a subordinate of the provincial Governor, thus the allegation that, by disregarding the Governor's decision, the *Shāh Bandar* was insulting the *ṣūba* Governor. The *Shāh Bandar* obviously derived his powers over merchants on account of his control over the maritime activities, which gave him sufficient powers to harass the English on account of

8 *The Apparatus*, p193.

9 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.190.The first reference of *bakhshī* in Sind comes during the period of Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān,who had appointed Amīr Beg as his *bakhshī*. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 241.

the complaint that they had killed the alleged thief, and so compensation or *qasās* could be due from them. Clearly the Mughal administration had a mix of jurisdictions, and while the officials were required to sit together in the *kachehrī,* the *Shāh Bandar* was clearly no subordinate of the governor, nor seemingly bound by the *qazī's* finding.

Since Thatta and rest of the Sind region was depended upon water transportation besides land transportation, the superintendent of boat department i.e. *mīr bahar*'s presence was must, but we do not find any reference of him during Mughal period, though we have references of presence of *mīr bahar* during the rule of the Tarkhāns.[10] Similarly the information about the *mutasaddī,* an important official in other Mughal ports, is not well recorded, only at one place we find the reference of *mutasaddī*,but here also his name is not recorded.[11]

The Governor of Sind was generally burdened with extra responsibility, as this area was infested with recalcitrant tribes, who were constant source of trouble to the administration. To control them, the Governor authorized his subordinates to build a *thāna* (smaller administrative

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10 *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī,* pp. 112, 130. When Portuguese attacked Thatta in the year 1554, *mīr bahar* was present there.

11 *Jamm-i-Badī,* ff.43a-44a

unit) and appoint *thānadārs*, along with armed men to maintain law and order in a *pargana*.[12] The total strength of all these *thānas* was 650 horsemen and 325 matchlockmen, 100 horsemen, and 50 matchlock men from the *ḥākim* of Bhakkar, 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen from the *ṣūbedār* of Thatta, and 350 horsemen and 225 matchlockmen from the *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan.[13]

However, as in other provinces of the Mughal Empire, in Sind too the financial department was headed by *diwān*, who was direct subordinate of *diwān-i-'ala*, and was not under the Governor, and the name of *diwāns*, are generally available in our sources, though the information is scanty. The tenure of only four *diwāns* is been recorded in *ṣūba* Thatta. The presence of *diwān* is also recorded by the historians during Tarkhāns, prior to the Mughals.[14] There were other

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12 Settlements of Nuhmardis were also called *thānahs,* Mīr Qāsim Khān Namkīn referred as Pir Ghulam in *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* was given *Sehwan* in *jāgīr* (except Kahan and *pargana* Khittah) had appointed strong *thānahs* on the frontiers. He also built a fort in Winjarah and another in village of Dehi ,situated in *pargana* Haweli Sehwan, and also established *thānahs* there. Abu'l Baqā, the *jāgīrdār* of Halahkandi set up a *thānah* here, comprising 300 horse, and 150 matchlockmen and archers. See *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, pp. 41, 88,108-9.

13 *Ibid.* p. 201

14 Mulla Rāju Kambōh(1615-16) was the *diwān* of Shamshēr Khān, the *jāgīrdar* of *sarkār* Sehwan; when Mūrtaḍa Khān Husām-al-Dīn was the *ṣūbedār* of Thatta,

officials attached to *baīt-ul-māl* (treasury), who used to send a monthly report of the accounts of *baīt-ul- māl* to the court.[15]

Besides *diwān*, presence of *amīn* (imperial auditor) was another important check on *jāgīrdār. Amīn*'s presence was to ensure that *jāgīrdārs, qānungōs, arbābs*, do not demand more than what is allowed from peasants, and also from traders or merchants. To discharge his duties in proper manner, it was ensured that he should not be given any other responsibility.[16]

An independent judiciary was also present,[17]as the *qazīs* and *ṣadrs* were appointed at *sarkār* and *pargana* level, which was again a

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Muḥammad Riḍa Beg was *ḥākim*, and Ibrāhīm Beg was sent as *diwān in* the year 1628-29, see *Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 142,154; The post of *diwān* was recorded even during Tarkhāns; *Tārikh-i-Tāhirī,* p.155; according to *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, "Ghāzī Beg had appointed a Hindu called Mūlah his *diwān* and also given him the title of Hindū Khān."*Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, p.166.

15 *Kitab-i-Jamm-i- Badi*, ff 28b,30a-b.Transcribed, no. 124, Department of History Library,Aligarh Muslim University. These documents are titled *Jamm-i-Badī,* compiled by one Jān Muḥammad Munshī son of Muḥammad Ārif presumably after 1733-34 A.D., these documents dates between 1703-04 to 1733-34 A.D. Here a *parwānā* is addressed to Shaikh Muḥammad Muqīm; an officer attached to *baīt- ul-māl,* and he is been asked to sent a monthly report of the accounts of *baīt-ul- māl* to the court.

16 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 187-88.

17 Shah Husain appointed *qāzī* Shūkrallah as *Shykh- ul- Islām, and* also the *qāzī* of Thatta. *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī,* pp. 14, 15; *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 196-97.

transferable post. They were under *ṣadr-us- sūdūr*. An interesting set of documents of eighteenth century *Jamm-i-Badī*, throws important light on the duties and functioning of the office of *ṣadr* and *qāzī*. [18]There are references of one person holding both the post of *ṣadr* as well as *qāzī* simultaneously. There is a *parwāna* of *ṣadr-us-sūdūr* (chief *ṣadr*) Muḥammad Amīr Khān Bahādūr. (1708-09), addressed to Shaīkh Muḥammad Wāriṣ, the *ṣadr* of *sarkār* Bhakkar, to take care of those who held *madad-i-ma'ash* grants, in accordance to imperial *farmāns, nishāns* and *isnad* issued by the proper authority, should not be harassed by the officials and their grants be restored to them.[19]

It seems that the *ṣadr* was sometimes involved in illegal exactions from the scholar gentry, while inspecting their *madad-i-ma'ash* holdings, by raising certain false objections.[20] There are three *farmāns* addressed to Shaikh Muḥammad Wāris, for his appointment to the office of *ṣadr* of *sarkār*, Sehwan, after the transfer of Shaikh Yāhyā. The second *farmān* appoints him *qāzī* of *parganas*, *qaṣbas* (towns), and villages in *sarkār* Bhakkar, in addition to the office of *ṣadarāt* of *sarkār* Bhakkar. While the *ṣadr* dealt with the *madad-i-*

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18 The details of these are discussed in the previous footnote no.14.

18 *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff 32b-33a

*ma'ash* grants, *qāzī* dealt with criminal jurisdiction,[21] but all the documents of *qāzī* were subjected to the scrutiny of Governor.[22] However the *qāzī* had power to appoint his *naīb* (deputy) from amongst his scholars,[23] or sometimes *qāzī* sent his son as deputy.[24]During their proceedings in *kachehrī, qāzīs* were ordered to write down all the descriptive rolls of the complainants, and then sent them to Emperor,[25] *qāzī* could directly sent the papers to Emperor.

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19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid,*,ff 26a-28b

21 *Jamm-i-Badī* ff 32b-33a

22 As mentioned in the petition of John Spiller, see Appendix B.

23 *Jamm-i-Badī,* ff 26a-28b

24 *Ibid,* ff 72b-73a.In this document q*āzī* Nasiruddin, the *qāzī* of *sarkār* Sehwan, and *ṣadr* of *sarkār* (Bhakkar?) had left his son Shāikh Abūl Ma'alī as his deputy in Siwistan (Sehwan) on a daily allowance of one rupee from the imperial treasury at Bhakkkar.

25 When Mīr Qāsim Khān Namkīn was the *ḥākim* of Bhakkar, people of Bhakkar had lodged a complaint against him before *qāzī* Abdul Hayy, the *qāzī* of the camp. He summoned Mīr Qāsim, but Mīr did not appear before him. The *qāzī* represented the matter to the Emperor. Then Mīr on the advice of Shaikh. Ma'arūf, the *ṣadr* of Bhakkar, won over all the complaints by paying them money, and sent them to Bhakkar. Now it was said that the *qāzī* had made a false report, and *qāzī* in spite of all efforts could not produce any of the oppressed. From that day it was decreed that *qāzī* should write down all the descriptive rolls of the complainants and sent them to Emperor. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, pp. 75-76.

The effective espionage system under *ba<u>kh</u>shī*, was sufficient enough to keep a check on the powers of *jāgīrdārs,* and *faūjdārs* of the region. With the presence of *dāk chawkīs*, and *wāqia nawīs*, the official news and messages and information were sent to the court, according to imperial rules and regulations. In fact, we find constant reports from the *wāqia nawīs* of Sehwan to the imperial administration.[26] The duties and functions of the superintendent of *dāk* and *sawañih nigār* (news reporter) of Thatta were combined together under the supervision of a *dāro<u>gh</u>a.*[27] The document says that *dāro<u>gh</u>ah* of *dāk* and *sawañih nīgār*, in discharging his duties he was required to be accurate, honest and also very efficient so that, in the delivery of letters and other official messages, there should not be any delay and any concealment. The imperial regulations and orders which were issued to the *mutasaddī*

26 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahāni*, vol II, p. 114.

27 *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff 74b-75b.When Ahmad <u>Kh</u>ān was the *faūjdār* of Sehwan, the reports of his tyrannical manner reached to imperial court through Abu'l Qāsim Tabātabā, the *wāqia nawīs* of Thatta, and Man Singh, the *wāqia nawīs* of Bhakkar. Relying upon their information Ahmad Beg was immediately transferred and sent to Multan, and in his place Dindār <u>Kh</u>ān was given the charge. Though it is really surprising, that as a punishment he was given a better place to govern. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahāni,* vol II, pp. 164.165. After Shāhjahān became the Emperor Ahmad Beg was made *faūjdār* of *sarkār* Sehwan along with the *manṣab* of 2000/1500 and later on *naīb ṣūbedār* of Multan in 1631-32.*Ma'asir-ul- Umara*, vol I, p.75.

of that place were to be delivered to them carefully; the petitions and daily news *(waqaī)* were to be sent to the court according to the regulations with a separate list thereof. He was to take an undertaking (*muchālka*) from *mēwrah* (the couriers) who worked under him, that except for *nalwās* (bamboo tubes) of official papers, they would not carry letters of others; and that they should carry the royal post *(kar-i-bādshāhi)* according to the regulations of the *kachehrī*, to one *kuroh* (on each run). They were not supposed to levy any exaction which was held to be prohibited, and not to harass inhabitants of villages and towns and travelers. He was to dispatch the record (*siyaha*) of *dākchaūkī*, and proceedings of *qāzī's* court, description of the prisoners in the fort, *kachehrī* and at *chabūtra kōtwālī*, and the reason of their imprisonment, the particulars of prisoners, the statement of account of the treasury and artillery stores were to be dispatched every month.[28] The rivalry among the officials sometimes led to the wrong reporting by the *wāqia nawīs*. It happened when *wāqia nawīs* of Bhakkar, was asked by Ibrāhīm Khān, the *bakhshī*, to write a hostile report against the *amils* of *pargana* Mathila, and *pargana* Jatoi (of *sarkār* Bhakkar, *ṣūba* Multan). And the *wāqia nawīs* without any care about the truth dispatched the report to

28 *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff 74b-75b.

the court.[29] Sometimes *wāqia nigār/wāqia nawīs* intervened into the problems regarding the payment of official salaries, as there arose confusion between *qiladār* of Sehwan and Thakur Das, the deputy *faūjdār* of the *sarkār* Sehwan; over the payment of their salaries. The matter was reported to the royal court, but realizing the gravity of situation Sayyed Ināyatullāh, the *wāqia nigār* provided them their salaries by borrowing it from *sarrāfs*.[30] As the royal mints were established at Thatta, Bhakkar and Lahari Bandar, there worked a whole team of officials. The in charge of royal mint was called *darōghah-i-darb khānā*. At Thatta, Mir Ghārurī was *dārōghah-i-darb khānā*, during the period of Akbar.[31]

In addition to *thānahs*, for the maintenance of law and order at local level, *kōtwālis* were established in big cities as Thatta.[32] The police

29 *Ibid,* ff 41a-42b. Ibrāhīm Khān,the *bakhshī* during Aūrangzēb's reign, put an allegation against Abid,the *amil* of *pargana* Mathila, and Muḥammad Qāsim,*āmil* of *pargana* Jatoi(*sarkār* Bhakkar),that they are involved in improper act and are dishonest, and *wāqia nawīs* without inquiring into matter reported same.

30 *Ibid,* ff 73a-b.

31.Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sind*, Karaci, 1980. P.332 .

32 *Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 53. There is no reference of the presence of *kōtwāl* during Tarkhāns, but under Arghuns they were definitely present and had significant role to play in party politics; it happened when *kōtwāl* of Bhakkar tried

station *(chabūtra-i-kōtwālī)* was headed by a *kōtwāl* (city magistrate),[33] who kept a strict watch over criminals, realized fine from criminals according to *shari'at-i-bāyda,* and carried out imperial orders in the city. The *kōtwāl* assumed lots of powers as the duty of guarding the proper functioning of the markets was also entrusted to him; such as no alteration to be done to the weights and measurements, lowering of the prices of commodities etc.[34] During the reign of Akbar the post of *kōtwāl* carried a lot of responsibilities. During the Shāhjahān's reign, for its better and impartial working it was requested that the post of *kōtwāl* should be transferred under *khālisa* charge.[35] Obviously the region got an elaborate system of administrative mechanism for smooth conduct of administration besides keeping it firmly under the imperial control.

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to organize a conspiracy against Shāh Hasan. *Tārīkh-i- Sind,* pp. 185-87; there is a reference of presence of *kōtwāl* in Darbela. *E.F.I., 1647-1650,* p. 118.

33 *Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.53

34 *Ā'īn,* vol I, pp.197, 198.

35 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.53.

## APPENDIX-A[36]

### LIST OF GOVERNORS OF THATTA

| Year | Name | Source |
|---|---|---|
| 1592 | Mirza Jānī Beg[37] Tarkhān | *A.N.*III,637, *Z.Kh*,7(a) |
| 1601-02 | Sa'id Khān Chaghtai [38] | *A.N.III,809* |
| 1615 | Arslān Beg Shamshēr Khān Uzbek | *Tuzuk,131* |
| 1616 | Arslān Beg Shamshēr Khān Uzbek | *Tuzuk*, 156; *Z.Kh*.II, 301 |
| 1616 | Mīr Abdūr Razzāq Khān Ma'amurī, Muzaffar Khān | *Tuzuk*, 156 |
| 1617 | Shāh Beg Khān, Khān-i-Daurān | *Tuzuk*, 196 |
| 1618 | Shāh Beg Khān, Khān-i-Daurān | *Tuzuk*, 234 |
| 1619 | Shāh Beg Khān, Khān-i-Daurān | *Tuzuk*, 266, 275 |
| 1619 | Sayyed Bayāzīd Bukhārī | *Tuzuk*, 305 |
| 1621 | Mustafa Khān | *Tuzuk*, |
| 1625 | Shaharyār, Prince | *Tuzuk*,397 ;Qazwīnī, 131(b) |
| 1627 | Abū Sa'id g/o 'Itimād-ud-daūla | *Tuzuk*, 419 |
| March | Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān | Lāhorī, I, 78,181,230 |

36 This list is based on *The Apparatus*, with some modifications and additions as *The Apparatus* ends with the end of Shāhjahān's reign, but afterwards until Muḥammad Shāh's reign, the work is original and based on the contemporary Persian sources and private documents.

37 He was *ṣūbedār* of Multan.

38 He was also *ṣūbedār* of Multan and not of Sind.

| 1628 | | |
|---|---|---|
| May 1628 | Khwāja Bāqī Khān,Shēr Khwāja | Lāhorī, I, 181. |
| 4 June 1628 | Hūsāmuddīn Anjū,Murtazā Khān | Lāhorī, I, 200. |
| 1629 | Mīr Hūsāmuddīn Anjū Murtazā Khān s/o Mīr Jamāluddīn | Lāhorī, I,(b),296. |
| 1629 | Āmīr Khān s/o Qāsim Khān Namkīn | Lāhorī,,I, 287 |
| 1633 | Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Tashqandī | Lāhorī, I.(b),101 |
| 1635 | Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Tashqandī | Lāhorī, I,(b) 101 |
| 1635 | Daūlat Khān (Dowlett Ckaun) | *E.F.I.*VI,27; *M.U.*II,24. |
| 1636 | Daūlat Khān ,Khwāṣ Khān | Lāhorī,I (b),101,207 ;Qazwīnī ,345(b) |
| 1640 | Daulat Khān | Lāhorī, II,187. |
| 1640 | Khwāja Kamgār Ghaīrat Khān | Lāhorī,II,198. |
| 1641 | Khwāja Kamgār Ghaīrat Khān | Lāhorī, II,225,723 |
| 1641 | Shād Khān | Lāhorī,II,225.244. |

| 1642 | Shād Khān | Lāhorī,II,244s |
|---|---|---|
| 1643 | Shād Khān | Lāhorī, II,303 |
| 1643 | Āmīr Khān s/o Qāsim Khān Namkīn | Lāhorī II,302 |
| 1648 | Āmīr Khān | Lāhorī, II,641 |
| 1648 | Mughal Khān | Lāhorī, II,641 |
| 1651 | Mughal Khān | Wāriṣ,110(b),116(b) |
| 1651-52 | Zafar Khān, *Naīb Ṣūbedār* | Wāriṣ,169(b) |
| 1651 | Muḥammad Aūrangzēb Bahādūr | Wāriṣ, 136(b) |
| 1652 | Muḥammad Aūrangzēb Bahādūr | *Adāb*,8(a) |
| 1652 | Sardār Khān | *Adāb*,8(a) |
| 1653 | Sardār Khān | Wāriṣ,148(a) |
| 1653 | Zafar Khān | Wāriṣ, 148(a) |
| 1656 | Zafar Khān | Wāriṣ,213(b) |
| 1657 | Sultān Sipir Shikōh s/o Dārā Shikōh | Ināyat Khān.512;Wāriṣ 219(a) |
| 1657 | Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, *Naīb Ṣūbedār* | Wāriṣ, 219(a) |
| 1658 | Muḥammad 'Ali Khān | Wāriṣ,253(b),262(b) |
| 1658 | Sayyed Ibrāhim | Wāriṣ, 253(b) |
| 1659 | Nawāb Qabad Khān | *'Alamgīrnāma ,217,282,290,485,623; Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, 329 |
| 1660 | Nawāb Lashkar Khān.Yādgār Beg | *'Alamgīrnāma,* |

| | | *485,877;Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,334 |
|---|---|---|
| 1664 | Nawāb Ghaznafar Khān | *'Alamgīrnāma, 864,1048;Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,334 |
| 1667 | Nawāb Sayyed Izzat Khān | *'Alamgīrnāma,1048;Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī,* 173;*Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,334-35 |
| 1673 | Nawāb Sayyed Izzat Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,336 |
| 1679 | Nawāb Khān- azād Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,336 |
| 1684 | Nawāb Sardār Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,337 |
| 1688 | Nawāb Mūrid Khān, Muḥammad Mōhsin | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,407; *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,337 |
| 1689 | Nawāb Zabardast Khān | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,432,440; *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,339 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1690-91 | Nawāb Abū Nūsrat Khān | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,432,440;*Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,339 |
| 1691 | Nawāb Hifzullāh Khān | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī* *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,440;*Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,339 |
| 1701 | Nawāb Sa'id Khān /Khānāzād Khān | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,470; *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,343 |
| 1702-03 | Prince Muīzuddīn,Mīr Amīr'ul Dīn Khān Husaīn; *Ṣūbedār* and *Naīb Ṣūbedār* | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,470,497;*Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*,III, 345. |
| 1703 | Nawāb Yūsuf Khān Tīrmizī *Naīb Ṣūbedār* | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,470,497*Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,348 |
| 1704 | Ahmad Yār Khān *Naīb Ṣūbedār* | *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgīrī*,470,497; *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, |

| | | 349 |
|---|---|---|
| 1707-09 | Nawāb Sa'id Khān Bahādur | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, 352 |
| 1709-11 | Nawāb Mūhim Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,352 |
| 1711-12 | Nawāb Shakūr Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, 353. |
| 1712 | Nawāb Khwāja.Muḥammad Khalīl Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, 358 |
| 1713 | Nawāb 'Atar Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, 361. |
| 1713-16 | Mīr Lutf 'Alī Khān (Shuja'at Khān) | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, 361 |
| 1716 | Nawāb Azam Khān bin Sāleh | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, 365. |
| 1719-21 | Muḥammad Qāzim Mahābat Khān s/o Mahābat Khān Khān-i-Khānān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III, 370. |
| 1721-24 | Maḥmūd Khān s/o Muḥammad Qāzim Mahābat Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,. 371 |
| 1724-30 | Nawāb Saīfullāh Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,373. |
| 1730-32 | Nawāb Dilēr Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,377 |

| 1732-36 | Nawāb Himmat Dilēr Khān S/o Nawāb Dilēr Khān | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,379. |
|---|---|---|
| 1736-37 | Nawāb Sādiq 'Alī Khān S/o Nawāb Saifullāh Khān* | *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, III,383. |

*The last Mughal Governor could not maintain himself out of the revenue from the area under his control. He handed over power to Khudayār Khān, better known as Mīyan Nūr Mohammād Kalhora.(*Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, part I, p.p. 385,386.)

## ḤĀKIMS OF SIND

| DATE | NAME | PLACE | SOURCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1575-76 | Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad | Bhakkar | *A.N.*III,158; Badāunī,II,210 |
| 1577-78 | Phūl Malik, 'Itimad Khān | Bhakkar | *Ā'īn*,I,225; *T.A.*II,437 ;*M.R.*II,341;*Z.Kh*,40(b);*M .U.*I,88 |
| 1578-79 | Fatḥ Khan | Bhakkar | *A.N.*III, 249; Badāunī,II,161. |
| 1585 | Sādiq Muḥammad Hirātī | Bhakkar | Badāunī,II,347; *M.U.*II,724-9 |
| 1593 | Mirza Jānī Beg | Thatta | *A.N.*, III,642 |
| 1593-94 | Mīr Abu'l Qāsim Khān Namkin | Bhakkar | *T.A.*II,455 |
| 1605 | Mirza Ghāzī Beg | Thatta | *Tuzuk*, 33 |
| 1607 | Mirza Ghāzī Beg | Thatta and Qandahar | *Tuzuk,63* |
| 1612 | Mirza Rustam Safāwī | Thatta | *Tuzuk,101* |
| 1612-13 | Tāsh BegQarchi Tāj Khān | Bhakkar | *Tuzuk*,110 |
| 1614-15 | Tāsh BegQarchi Tāj Khān (died) | Bhakkar | *Tuzuk*,131 |
| 1619-20 | Sayyed Bayāzid Bukhāri | Bhakkar | *Tuzuk*,305 |
| 1638 | Yūsūf Muḥammad Khān Tāshkandi | Bhakkar | Lāhorī, II, 128. |
| 1638-39 | Kamāluddin Husaīn Jān Nisar Khān | Bhakkar | Lāhorī,II,128 |
| 1638-39 | Kamāluddin Husaīn Jān Nisār Khān(died) | Bhakkar | Lāhorī,II,131,725 |
| 1638-39 | Waqqās Hājī Shāh Qulī Khān | Bhakkar | Lāhorī, II, 131 |
| 1640-41 | Waqqās Hājī Shāh Qulī Khān | Bhakkar | Lāhorī, II, 221 |
| 1640-41 | Shād Khān | Bhakkar | Lāhorī, II, 220 |
| 1640-41 | Sayyed Chavān | Bhakkar | Lāhorī, II, 227 |
| 1647-48 | 'Abdullah s/o Sa'id Khān Bahādur Zafar Jung | Bhakkar | Wāriṣ,9(b) |
| 1649-50 | Zabardast | Bhakkar | Wāriṣ, 262(a) |

| | Khān(died) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1640 | Āsaf Khān | Lahari Bandar | *E.F.I.*VI,275 |
| 1640 | Mīr Zarīf Fidai Khān | Lahari Bandar | *E.F.I.*VI,276 |
| 1640-41 | Mīr Zarīf Fidaī Khān | Lahari Bandar | Lāhorī,II,201 |
| 1641-46 | Ḥākim Khushhāl Khān(died in 1646) | Lahari Bandar | Lāhorī,II,299 |
| 1638-39 | Yaktarāz Khān | Sehwan | Lāhorī,II,157 |
| 1639-40 | Qazzāq Khān | Sehwan | Lāhorī,II,150-1 |
| 1641-42 | Qazzāq Khān | Sehwan | Lāhorī, II,234 |
| 1641-42 | Āmir Khān s/o Qasim Khān | Sehwan | Lāhorī, II,234 |
| 1642-43 | Shād Khān | Sehwan | Lāhorī, II,303 |
| 1645-46 | Zabardast Khān | Sehwan | Lāhorī, II,480 |
| 1649-50 | Zabardast Khān(died) | Sehwan | Wāriṣ,262(a) |
| 1649-50 | Nur'ul Hasan | Sehwan | Wāriṣ,88 |
| 1653-54 | Mīr Abu'l Ma 'alī | Sehwan | Wāriṣ,185(a) |
| 1655-56 | Mīr Abu'l Ma 'alī | Sehwan | Wāriṣ,236(b) |
| 1655-56 | Muḥammad Sālih s/o 'Isā Tarkhān | Sehwan | Wāriṣ, 236(b) |
| 1709-10 | Thākūr Das | *Naib Faujdar of Sehwan* | *Jamm-i-Badi.*ff.73a-b |

**OTHER IMPERIAL OFFICERS OF THE REGION OF SIND**

| YEAR | NAME | PLACE AND POST | SOURCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1615-16 | Mulla Rājū Kambōh | *Diwān* of Sehwan | *Mazhar,* II, 142. |
| 1628-29 | Ibrāhim Khān | *Diwān* of Thatta | *Mazhar*, II,154 |
| 1652 | Mirza Qabad Beg | *Diwān* of Sind | *E.F.I.*IX,119 |
| 1654-55 | Mīr 'Abdul Hayy s/o Mīr Muaẓẓam | *Diwān* of Thatta | Wāriṣ,214(b) |

| 1656-57 | Mīr ‘Abdul Hayy | *Diwān* of Thatta (appt. ceased) | Wāriṣ,248 (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1656-57 | Mīr Jalāl | *Diwān* of Thatta | Wāriṣ,248 (b) |
| 1705 | Mīr Muḥammad Mehdī | *Diwān* of Thatta | *Farmān* of ‘Alamgīr[39] |
| 1710 | Asad Khān | *Diwān-i-‘Alā* | *Jamm-i-Badī,* ff72b-73a |
| 1635 | Aga Afzal | *Bakhshī* of Thatta | *E.F.I.* V,.127 |
| 1646-1647 | Ibrāhim Khān | *Bakhshī* of Sehwan | *Jamm-i-Badī*,ff41a-42b |
| 1651-52 | Khudā Banda | *Bakhshī, wāqia nawīs* of Thatta | Wāriṣ, 146 (b) |
| 1644-47 | Mirza Mōmin | *Shāh Bandar/Bakhshī* | Petition of Jonn Spiller,80b (2),Sloane Collection. |
| 1710 | Muḥammad Mūsa | *Darōghah of Dāk/Sawānīh Nigār* | *Jamm-i-Badī*,ff. 73a-b |
| 1574-75 | Mīr Gesū Bakāwal Begī Gesū Khān, | *Qiladār* of Bhakkar | *Z.Kh.*,27(b) |
| 1658 | Muḥammad Sālih Tarkhān | *Qilādār* of Sehwan | Sāqī Musta‘id Khān, 09 |
| 1709-10 | Nihāl Beg | *Qiledār of Sehwan* | *Jamm-i-Badī*,ff. 73a-b. |
| 1574-75 | Banwālī Das | *Karorī* of *sarkār* | *M.R.*,II,340 |

39 Cf.N.A.Baloch,Studies Sind Historical,Sind,Pakistan,2003,p.336.This *farmān* is dated 1705 and is related to *zamīndārī* grant to Shāhdād Baloch of *pargana* Halakandi.

| | | Bhakkar | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1593-94 | Shaīkh Ma'aruf | *Ṣadr* of Bhakkar | *M.U.*III,75 |
| 1703-04 | Shaīkh Muḥammad Muqīm | *Ṣadr* of Bhakkar | *Jamm-i-Badī*,ff.26a-28b |
| 1707 | Shaīkh Yāhya | *Ṣadr* of Bhakkar | *Jamm-i-Badī*,ff.26a-28b |
| 1708-09 | Shaīkh Muḥammad Wāriṣ s/o Shaikh Muḥammad Muqīm | *Ṣadr* of Bhakkar | *Jamm-i-Badī*,ff.32b-33a. |
| 1710 | Qāzī Nasīruddīn | *Ṣadr* of Bhakkar | *Jamm-i-Badī*,ff.72b-72a. |
| 1628-29 | Mān Sīngh | *Wāqia Nawīs* of Bhakkar | *M.S.*II,164-65 |
| 1628-29 | 'Abūl Qāsim Tabātaba | *Wāqia Nawīs* of Thatta | *M.S.*II,164-65 |
| 1710 | Sayyed Inayātullāh | *Wāqia Nawīs of Sehwan* | *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff. 73a-b |

**APPENDIX-B**

English translation of the document goes like this:-

*The petition of John Spiller, Englishman.*

After salutations the humble well-wisher, John Spiller, Englishman, submits to the Excellency the *Bakhshī'ul Mamālik,* the Khān of good fortune, that since his Excellency has been favourably disposed towards us, we, relying upon his patronage, come from distant lands and countries, for our own profit and the financial advantage of the Imperial [Mughal] Government to the ports of Surat and Lahari Bandar and other ports. Previous to this every *Shāh Bandar* [of Lahari Bandar] who came [to occupy the office], treated us with respect. When Fidai Khān, was here, he too did so. *Ḥākim* Khwushhāl was a very sagacious and earnest person; seeing our labour, he repeatedly encouraged us. Unfortunately, the *ḥākim's* death occurred in the manner known. Now, from the merchants' ill-luck, the charge of this port rests with Muḥammad Mōmin, the *bakhshī.* Your Excellency, his conduct with regard to us is revealed in the following manner. Earlier, person of the names of Warāya, Nizām, and Sharīf had committed theft in our house [i.e. factory]. When the truth of their crime was discovered, Sharīf took

to flight. Warāya and Nizām were with their families in their houses. When they saw that the matter has been discovered, Nizām killed himself in his own house. When this case was taken, on the *kachehrī* day, to the court of the *qāzī* and officials, it was established that Nizām had killed himself and the penalty (*qasās*) for it thus fell on himself. Three copies of the judgement (*taqrịr-nama*) were issued under the *qāzī's* Seal, one taken by the Governor (*ḥākim*) and the second by the said *bakhshī* [Muḥammad Mōmin]; and one has been given to us by way of certificate. Before this incident the said *bakhshī* had taken *suqarlāt* [broadcloth] etc., from us to the agreed value of Rs.700. Now, summarizing us in this matter, he told us to remit him that amount by way of bribe; or he would undo us. When I gave him the frank answer that "First, we lost our goods by theft, now we have to pay a bribe; what kind of fairness or justice this is?" from that time onwards, he has become an enemy to me and has become so unkind that the few words your Excellency wrote on my behalf have proved ineffectual. Your Excellency, now out of our stolen goods, one *jāmdhār* dagger has been recovered from the said Warāya, and earlier some silver utensils had also been recovered from him. When we took Warāya to the *kachehrī* and established the truth of the commitment of theft by him, Mirza the

*bak͟hshī*, was present there. On the basis of his previous enmity, he took the part of Warāya the thief, and kept him with himself. Our *wakīl* protested, "what cruelty this is that is being inflicted on the merchants' interest and the proved matter is being sought to be wished away? After all, this is a city and country of the Imperial Dominions". Thereupon the said *bak͟hshī*, in the presence of the Governor and all other officials, told his men to beat up my *wakīl*. Afterwards returning to his house, he summoned my *wakīl*. When we sent our *wakīl*, he had him bound, and had him whipped a hundred times, so that he nearly died. Thereafter he set his man upon our house (*havēlī*), asking them to bring the English and their *wakīl*, tied and bound. When we sent another w*akīl* to him, he said, "tell the English to quit this city". Your Excellency we are a company (lit. partners or brothers) who, due to His Excellencys' strength, make purchases at Thatta, Nasarpur, Siwistan [Sehwan] and other places and so contribute to the income of the Imperial Government. Except your Excellency's person, we have no protector. Therefore, we have conveyed our distress to you. So long as the *bak͟hshī* is the *Shāh Bandar,* merchants will remain distressed on account of him.

Your Excellency, a letter of our Captain [president] has come from Surat. In this it has been written that it was his desire to send a ship [to Lahari Bandar]. However, French Pirates in four ships are roaming the seas to commit piracy. For this reason, he is sending us a *g͟hurāb* (galliot), loaded with that cargo, and well-prepared [for firghting?]. Since the navigation and voyaging over-seas depends upon good intelligence (*ak͟hbārāt*), it was necessary for us to communicate this news [of the French pirates] to the Imperial officers so we went to the *kachehrī* and informed them of it. Every year, two or three Imperial ships set off from this port. If they do not set off now with costly cargo, it would be better. We have always shown similar concern for Imperial interests. Thus when Mīr Zarīf had come here, the Imperial order had been issued that the English should convey him to Moccha and Jedda. For this purpose, I allowed our trade of about one lakh of cartloads of goods to be disrupted, and let our own trading season pass, in order to put the said Mīr [Zarīf] aboard our ship and have him safely conveyed to Mocha and Jedda. This truth is known at the Imperial court.

Your Excellency, we are always, day and night, ready for service and obedience to the Imperial Government. Strange That Mirza Mōmin the *bak͟hshī* does not realize the extent of labours and treats us in this

manner. In short, he does not properly treat the *sāhib-i-ṣūba* [Governor of the Province], and ill treats (other) merchants. If he writes of these matters in a different strain, this should be attributed to his pursuit of self-interest, which has led him to become such an enemy of ours. Although it is not fitting for persons like us to write in praise or give true exposure of a person. Yet since we have a relationship of service to you, when oppressing passed all limits, this petition is being submitted to you. May your Excellency's shadow protect all his servants.

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# CHAPTER 2

# FISCAL SYSTEM

## 2.1: Land Revenue and Rural Taxation

The land revenue had been a major source of income for the vast structure of the Mughal Empire, which was standardized in almost all the parts of the Mughal Empire by Akbar and the region of Sind being no exception.

Bhakkar which was the first *sarkār* to be annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1574-75, witnessed the attempt at standardization of land revenue between1574-98. When Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad [1] was appointed *ḥākim* of Bhakkar, he unsuccessfully tried to impose a system of uniform rate of assessment of five maunds per *bighā,* by way of *kankūt* as Yūsūf Mirāk calls it, irrespective of the quality of crop. He deployed his managers (*sāhib-i-ihtimām*) all over the cultivatable land, who meted out very harsh treatment to the peasants.[2] But this was greatly resented by the Magnejahs (peasant tribe) who inhabited *pargana* Kakri, for it increased the burden of taxation on the

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1 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 9. He was a personal friend of Badaūnī, and was sent to Bhakkar, after the appointment of Tarsūn Muḥammad was cancelled. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* ,vol I, p. 471; *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 245.

2 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 9,10; *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 245.

peasants. Later, when Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī, came to this region in between 1593-98[3], he applied the *dastūr-ul-'amal* for *ẓabt*. He reduced the burden of taxation and to further placate the peasants, instructed his *āmils*, to record only cultivated land in their *khasrās* for purposes of revenue assessment.[4] Thus, all the eight *parganas* of *sarkār* Bhakkar were brought under *ẓabt* system with permanent *dastūrs* for the crops and the state share was fixed at one-third of the produce.[5] Thus it took almost twenty years to impose *ẓabt* in northern Sind uniformly. However in *sarkār* Sehwan, *ghallā bakhshī* and *ẓabt* existed side by side in the seventeenth century.[6] Under *ghallā bakhshī* the imperial demand was half of the produce.[7] Bakhtiyār Beg, the *jagīrdār* of Sehwan (1593-99), exacted half of the harvest, but in some less fertile region , the state share was one third, or two fifths,or

3 The inscriptions on buildings, which he constructed in this area corroborate this date. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*,vol I, p. 471; *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 245.

4 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhānī*, vol II, pp. 11, 12, 13. Due to this method and relaxation given by Mīr Ma'sūm, in the *pargana* of Darbela, the cultivated land has increased from 500 *bighahs* to 50,000 *bighahs*; which may be an exaggeration. Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī had introduced the *ẓabt* system in Bhakkar.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* in gazetteer form, is the only source which gives a vivid description of the region of Sind, therefore in this chapter, for the information about the agrarian sector I have mainly relied upon it. Vol II, pp. 18-25, 203, 230.

7 *Ibid*, p. 51.

even one fourth of the produce only.[8] However, the *dastūrs* recorded in *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, for the various crops in *sarkār* Sehwan (list given in Appendix A and B) were fixed both in kind and cash, where the revenue figures are stated both in *murādī tanka* and *dām*. The *ẓabt* rate was recorded per *pukhtah bigha,* out of which two *biswās* were remitted to the peasants irrespective of whether the crop was good or bad. This was over and above land remitted under *nābūd* (barren), *tukhmzādāh* (having drains) and *shūrāh* (having mines), and the remissions were granted after the inspection at the time of recording the *ẓabt.* [9] But in case of *pargana* Baghbanan (*sarkār* Sehwan), the remission was increased from two to three *biswās*, and a rebate of a quarter of a rupee per *bigha*, on the rate of grain was also granted.[10] The Tarkhāns, who held Thatta in *jāgīr,* did not take more than a half of the produce from the peasants, and in some places, a third or a fourth part as state share.[11] During Tarkhāns, under Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, Qāsim Khān, an officer, had carried out a survey of

8 *Ibid*, p. 101. See also p. 121. Father of the author Mīr Qāsim Khān Namkin, had made similar arrangements.

9 *Ibid*, p.182.

10 *Ibid*, p. 203.

11 *Ibid*, pp.51-52.

cultivated land of three *parganas* of *sarkār* Sehwan, where revenue was collected in form of grain (a form of *kankūt*).[12] The author of *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* even goes on describing the method of land measurement for *ẓabt.* He also instructs that at the time of land measurement, "a *jāgīrdār* should ensure that the *tanābkashān* (surveyors) use the *jarīb* properly, and *kārkun* (accountant) record the productive and unproductive land, only after a great deal of the spot investigation."[13] In *ẓabtī* areas, the peasants had to part with about half of his produce to satisfy the land revenue demand. The author again points out that in the arid climate of Sind, crop sharing was the best mode of assessment. The magnitude of the state demand though fixed as in *ghalla-bakhshī,* the imperial demand was half of the produce.[14] According to him, "the region of Thatta could become prosperous, if under crop sharing the *jāgīrdārs* do not take more than half of the produce."[15] For the region of Sehwan he recommended still lower

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12 Idrāki Thattavī, *Beglārnāmā,* ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad-Sind, 1980, p.182.

13 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.18.

14 *Ibid,* p.51

15 *Ibid.* He used the same suggestion for *sarkār* Bhakkar "the greatest favour to the peasants will be demanding nothing more than what is required by *dastūr-ul-'amal.*" p. 14.

rates,[16] as this area was mainly inhabited by the recalcitrant tribes who often destroyed the crop and prevented the revenue collector and landed intermediaries from peacefully collecting the revenue. However, in places peasants were submissive and not exposed to raids from the hills, he recommended the state share to be half the produce.[17] The *diwān* of *k͟hālisa* in *sarkār* Bhakkar states, "Three kind of revenue arrangements are prevalent in the whole empire including Multan, Thatta, and Siwistan (Sehwan); *dastūr-ul-'amal* (official rates) *kām-dastūr* (concessional rates), and *bataī* (crop sharing)."[18] In revenue arrangement concessional rates and reduction of state share in crop sharing were the usual devices to encourage cultivation. Another form of revenue realization which prevailed was *ijārah* (rack-renting) which the author of *Mazhar-i-S͟hāhjahānī* explicitly condemns in no uncertain terms.[19] According to him, "*ijārahdārī* not only corrupts the *arbābs* (village headmen), but also, leads to the oppression of the peasants and can result in their flight and desertion of the villages."

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16 *Ibid*, pp. 204, 207, 214-16, 219, 225, 229, 230.

17 *Ibid*, pp. 209-10, 220, 223, 227.

18 *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff.42a-b.

19 The Sanaraya tribe, paid *muqtaī*, on the pattern of revenue farming (*batarīq-i-ijārah*). *Mazhar-i-S͟hāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 80. Also see pages 120,121 and 171, for the author's disliking for *ijārahdārī*, and suffering of peasants due to this system.

He advises that for the betterment of the country of Sind, the *jāgīrdārs* should stick to *dastūr-ul-'amals* and they should not demand anything from the peasants beyond the assessment regulation. In revenue arrangement concessional rates and reduction of state share in crop-sharing were the devices to encourage cultivation.

The lowering of the rate of state share was deliberately done by the imperial authorities to improve the cultivation, and to improve the position of the peasants against the defiant nomads. The imperial authorities offered inducements to officials who lowered the demand to one fourth of the gross yield as revenue.[20] The other example comes from Sehwan, when its *jāgīrdār* Dindār Khān (1629-33) lowered the state demand to one fourth for the Lakahs of the *pargana* Lakut, to strengthen their position against the Samejahs;[21] who paid one third of the produced, as revenue demand. The author of *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* expectedly exhorts that the officials should not take more than what is authorized, and that they should not burden the peasants with their own exactions. The Mughal officials followed this policy throughout the Mughal rule in Sind, to encourage *ahshām-i-ra'iyyat* (submissive

20 *Ibid*, p. 216.

21 *Ibid*. pp. 204, 229-30.

peasant tribes), who in turn provided helping had to the administrative machinery against the recalcitrant tribes.

There were mainly three modes of assessment that were practiced in Sind; *ghallā bakhshī, ẕabt* and *kankūt.* Among these, the traditional mode of assessment that is crop sharing or *ghallā bakhshī* was widely prevalent in Thatta.[22] It suited the peasants, for the state shared the risks in production with the peasants on the equal basis, it also suited to the arid climate of the region and provided some security to the peasants under uncertain natural conditions. Besides *ghallā bakhshī, kankūt* and *ẕabt,* there existed other methods of assessment, as *muqtaī.*[23] The *muqtāi* was generally imposed on tribesmen whose assessment could not be done without force, or their nomadic ways made the assessment completely impossible like Nuhmardis of Sehwan, Pannī Afghans of Siwi, Jokīa, Kalīmatī Baloch (of Thatta), and Samejahs.[24] Functionaries from Bhakkar used to go to

22 Abu'l Fazl explicitly records in his account of Thatta that it was undae *ghalla-bakhshī. Ā'īn*, vol II, p.165.

23 The term *muqtaī* in mentioned in *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī,* which was abolished by Sher Shāh along with crop-sharing. It meant a fixed demand, See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System,* p.273.

24 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 28, 29, 50, 69, 85, 90,134-35, 210, 221, 240.

Siwi, for the collection of *muqtaī* from the Pannī Afg͟hans,[25] and this *muqtaī* was always collected in kind.[26]

As regarding the land revenue realization, the *dastūrs* represented the tax claim by the state on the peasants, while the *jama'* represented the assessed revenue. But in the region of Sind we find that due to the presence of nomadic population, the revenue realization was being done in kind also. There were other types of revenue realization in kind on annual basis, which were called *falsānah* and *salāmī*, categorically assigned to nomads of the hills. This *falsānah* often used to be in the form of camels and goats.[27] While in other areas the realization was made in cash. *Ā'īn* gives revenue of *sarkār* Bhakkar as total of 18, 424, 947 *dāms*, of *sarkār* Thatta 25, 999, 891 *dāms, sarkār* Chachkan as 11,784,586 *dāms*, while *sarkār* Siwistan(Sehwan), and *sarkār* Nasarpur's revenue was

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25 *Ibid*, p. 28.

26 The Baluch of Barejah, who dwelt in the hills of *pargana* Bubakan, on every harvest, used to give certain members of camels and sheep to the *jāgīrdār* as state share of revenue. *Mazhar-i-S͟hāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 134.

27 It was called *peshkash-i-falsānāh.* Nuhmardis of Sehwan used to give *falsānāh* in the form of goats and camels. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 124. The Chandukah Baluch and Nuhmardis both belonged to *salāmī* category and paid *falsānāh* from their belongings as camels, horses and goats. Also see pp.50, 90.

15, 546, 808 *dāms,* and 7, 834, 600 *dāms* respectively.[28] *Chahar Gulshan* gives the revenue statistics of *ṣūba* Thatta from 1594 to 1720, stated in rupees as follows:[29]

Table 1

| YEAR | JAM 'Ā |
|---|---|
| 1594 | 16,56,285 rupees |
| 1648 | 20,00,000 „ |
| 1654 | 22,30,750 „ |
| 1665 | 23,20,750 „ |
| 1695 | 23,74,250 „ |
| 1697 | 60,02,000 „ |
| 1700 | 17,20,025 „ |
| 1707 | 22,95,420 „ |
| 1720 | 17,32,938 „ |

*Tarīkh-i-Muzaffarī* tells that, "*ṣūba* Thatta had four *sarkārs*, and had fifty seven *parganas,* out of which every year 7, 49, 76, 900 *dāms* were collected as revenue."[30] *Bayāz-i-Khūshbuī* gives the revenue figures of *ṣūba* Thatta in1628-29 as 41, 51, 08, 990 *dāms.*[31]

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28 *Ā'īn*, vol II, pp.163-4.

29 Jadunath Sarkar, *India under Aurangzeb; with extracts from Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārīkh,* and *Chāhar Gulshan,*Sanyal,1906, pp. Ixx, Ixxxi. However it does not include Sehwan in *ṣūba Thatta* in the revenue statistics of 1665.

30 Vide *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, part I, p. 386 n.

31 *Bayāz-i-Khūshbuī,* ff.180a

Table -2[32]

| YEAR | JAM'Ā IN DĀMS |
|---|---|
| 1595-6 | 5,06,06,585* |
| 1628-36 | 41,51,70,790 |
| 1633-8 | 9,01,20,000 |
| 1646-7 | 9,23,40,000 |
| 1646-7 | 8,00,00,000 |
| 1638-56 | 9,20,00,000 |
| 1638-56 | 9,28,00,000 |
| 1638-56 | 9,20,00,000 |
| 1638-56 | 9,49,70,000 |
| 1638-56 | 9,20,00,000 |
| 1638-56 | 9,18,00,000 |
| 1646-56 | 9,28,00,000 |
| 1667 | 7,49,86,900 |
| 1687-91 | 6,88,16,810 |
| 1687-95 | 6,88,16.810 |
| 1701-02 | 6,01,01,988 |
| 1709 | 6,88,16,800 |
| 1709-11 | 8,92,30,000 |

The revenue officials who were involved in the collection of revenues, included *karōrīs, amīls, shiqqdārs, qānūngōs, kārkuns, arbābs, muqaddams , patwārīs* and *zamīndārs.* While describing the duties of *amal guzār* (the revenue collector), *Ā'īn* also discusses the duties of *kārkun, muqaddams* and *patwārīs* .It states, "as *kārkun* (registrar of collection) sets down the transactions of the assessment, the *muqaddam (*chief village revenue officer/headman), and the

32 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, p. 459. *Minus *jam'a* figures of *sarkār* Sehwan.

*patwārī* (land- steward) shall keep their respective accounts. The collector shall compare these documents, and keep them under his seal and give a copy thereof to the clerk. When the assessment of the village is completed, he shall enter it in the abstract of the village accounts, and after verifying it a new, cause its authentication by the *kārkun* and the *patwārī*; and this document he shall forward weekly to the royal presence, and never delay it beyond fifteen days." [33] In *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* there is a record of the *in'am* or dues of *arbāb, muqaddam and qānūngō*, out of revenue collection. While Yūsūf Mirāk describes the duties of revenue functionaries and the ways to keep a check on them; he says, "a *jāgīrdār* should ensure that the *tanābkashān* (surveyors) use the *jarīb* properly, and *kārkun* (accountant) record the productive and unproductive land, and only after a great deal of spot investigation. After the *jāmbandī* (revenue-assessment), the *shiqqdār* (rent collector) of every *pargana*, settles the account of every peasant (*asāmīwār*) in his presence, so that the *arbābs*, *ra'ises*, and *qānūngō*, do not burden the peasantry with their own exactions.[34] He also says that, "the *qānūngō's* descriptive roll

33 *Ā'īn*, vol I, p. 199.

34 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p,18.

(*taūjīh)* should also be scrutinized."[35] Probably there were other illegal exactions made by these revenue officials which compelled the writer to record these instructions. As even the *jāgīrdārs* were imposing taxes, which had already been abolished by the royal decree. A tax *gaw̄-shumārī* as mentioned in *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī,* [36] was already abolished by Jahāngīr, but was being collected in Sehwan by Ahmad Beg Khān (1628-30) who introduced branding of cattle to levy tax on cattle.[37]

Regarding the salaries of these officials or their share in the land revenue, as the *jam'ā* not only indicate the total revenue realization or assessed taxation, but also allowances from collection drawn by others.[38] According to *Ā'īn*, "The share of *qānūngō* and *patwārī* was one percent, while *shiqqdār, amīn,* and *kārkūn* received one *dām* per *bigha* for measurement, the *ẓābitāna* for the agents like *shiqqdār*, *kārkun* and *amīn*, was fixed five or six *dāms* provided in

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35 *Ibid,* p. 51.

36 According to *Ā'īn,* " whoever does not cultivate land liable to taxation but enclose it for pasturage the collection shall take for each buffalo six *dams,* and for an ox three *dams* yearly." *Ā'īn*, vol I, p. 199.

37 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 155.

38 Shireen Moosvi, *The* Economy *of the Mughal Empire- A Statistical Study*, Delhi, 1987, p.126.

every *rab'i* crop they measure at least two hundred *bighas* of land, and during *kharīf* crop at least two hundred and five *bighas*."[39] According to *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, "during the tenure of Bakhtiyār Beg (1593-99) in Sehwan, the *in'am* rate of *arbāb* and *mūqaddam* was five percent. Later during the tenure of Shamshēr Khān Uzbek (1615-1616), these were lowered down to two percent.[40] However, *qānūngō*'s cess was one percent, which they realized directly from the peasants.[41] Despite these written shares of officials it seems from the account that the revenue officials were involved in some unlawful exactions as well. The author expectedly exhorts that the officials should not take more than what is authorized, and that they should not burden the peasants with their own exactions. For improving conditions of cultivation, and for increasing the area under cultivation, these officials were also rewarded by the imperial administration. When Dindār Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan, gave villages of Amiri (*pargana* Sann) in *jāgīr* to Sayyed Yūsūf an *arbāb* of Sann, who repopulated the village.[42] Similarly *arbāb* Bahā-al-Dīn

39 *Ā'īn*, vol I, p. 209.

40 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 186.

41 *Ibid.*

42 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.166, 224.

Pahawar, and his tribesmen, paid one -third of the produce, while others paid four -ninth of the produce as state share.[43]

One notices a change of attitude among the imperial officials after the death of Aūrangzēb as far as the revenue administration was concerned. Rivalries among the local officials and routine dispatches of spurious reports to the court seem to have been a common feature of the time. The writer of *Jamm-i-Badī,* says, "the cultivation has now declined, because the land revenue is increased by imposing again what was remitted to the peasants earlier, as a relief against the natural disaster, the *kāmdastūrs* were also declared illegal and full share of the state without any concession was demanded along with the due arrears."[44] Further, the *arbābs, mūqaddāms* and *patwārīs* of the *pargana* (of *sarkār* Bhakkar?) were being forced to falsely record the large payments made to *āmils*, due to *diwān*'s enmity towards the letter.[45] The *mutaṣaddī* of *sarkār* Thatta clearly states that "they have nothing to do with the properly of the peasants or region, they are only interested in raising money by false means."[46] As a result of these

43 *Ibid*, p. 216.

44 *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff. 40a-b.

45 *Ibid*

46 *Ibid*, ff. 43a-44a.

corruption, and rivalries among the officials the land revenue of *sarkār* Thatta and also of other parts had declined considerably, since peasants deserted cultivation and thus fled their lands unable to bear the oppression of the state functionaries, but these incidents are recorded in the first half of the eighteen century, though earlier also there were evidences of desertion but those were either caused by the presence of a turbulent tribesmen or later adoption of *ijārahdārī* system. In Sind, generally the Mughal *jāgīrdārs* had adopted very accommodating attitude towards the peasants, be it in the form of concession, or lowering the state demand, or adopting the mode of assessment as per to demand of the peasants, yet the exploitation was unavoidable which resulted in desertion of villages, and decreasing *jam'ā* of the province, and the absconding of the peasants

APPENDIX: A[47]

## *Dastūrs* of *sarkār* Sehwan

| crop(*kharīf*) | rates in cash | in kind |
|---|---|---|
| *JAWARI*(MILLET), *RAGI*(MANDWAH), *SHALI*(RICE PADDY) | 1 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* AND 35 ½ *DĀMS* PER *BIGHAH* | 33 ½ *KASAHS* PER *BIGHAH* |
| *PANBAH*(COTTON),*KHARBUZAH*(MELON),*TARBUZAH*(WATERMELON), *TARKARI*(VEGETABLES),*KUNJID*(SESAME),TURB(RADDISH),*ARZAN*(COMMONMILLET),*GAL*(KANGANI),TAG SAN OR BENGAL SAN | 25 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* AND 29 1/4 *DĀMS* | |
| *ZARDAK*(CARROT) | 35 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* PER *BIGHAH* | |
| *MASH*(*URD*),*MUNG* | 14 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* AND 2 ½ *DĀMS* PER *BIGHAH* | |
| *NAYSHAKKAR*(SUGARCANE) | 72 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* PER *BIGHAH* | |
| *DILPASAND*(KACHRAH) | 6½*MURĀDĪ TANKAH* | |
| *NIL*(INDIGO) | 35 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* | |
| ***RAB'I* CROP** | | |
| *GANDUM*(WHEAT), *JAU*(BARLEY) | 1 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* AND 35 ½ *DĀMS* PER *BIGHAH* | 33 1/2 *KASAHS* PER *BIGHAH* |
| *NAKHUD*(BENGAL GRAM) | 45 *DĀMS* PER *BIGHAH* | |
| *SARSHAF*(MUSTARD SEED) | | 28 *KASAHSA ND* 3 *TOYAHS* PER *BIGHAH* |
| *AHURI*(KHARDAL) | 35 *DĀMS* PER *BIGHAH* | 28 ½ *KASAHS* PER *BIGHAH* |
| *ARZAN*(COMMONMILLET),*PIYAZ*(ONION),*KHARBUZAH*(MELON),*TARBUZAH*(WATERMELON),BENGAL SAN,*BADINJAN*(EGG PLANT) | 25 *MURĀDĪ TANKAH* | 29 ½ *KASAHS* PER *BIGHAH* |

47 This list is based on the information given in *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*,vol II, pp.183-185.

| *MUNG,MASANG*(CHICKLING VETCH) | 14 *MURĀDĪ TANKAHS* AND 2 ¼ *DĀMS* PER *BIGHAH* | |
|---|---|---|
| *ADAS*(LENTIL) | 28 *MURĀDĪ TANKAHS* AND 31 *DĀMS* PER *BIGHAH* | |
| *ZEERAH*(CUMIN),*BADYAN*(FENNEL),*GUL-I-MU'ASFAR*(SAFFLOWER),*AJWAD*(PARSLEY) | 48 *MURĀDĪ TANKAHS* AND 37 ½ *DAM* PER *BIGHAH* | |
| *SIR*(GARLIC),*BHANG*(OPIUM),*KUKNAR*(OPIUM POPPY),*TANBAKU*(TOBACCO) | 2 ½ RUPEES OR 60 *MURĀDĪ TANKAHS* | |

# APPENDIX B:

***Dastūrs* of crop- sharing in Sehwan**

| 1/2 | OUT OF EVERY TWO KHARWĀRS,ONE GOES TO PEASANT AND ONE IS RESUMED BY THE STATE |
|---|---|
| 1/3 | OUT OF EVERY THREE KHARWĀRS,TWO GO TO THE PEASANTS AND ONE IS RESUMED |
| 1/4 | OUT OF EVERY FOUR KHARWĀRS ,THREE GO TO THE PEASANTS AND ONE IS RESUMED |
| 1/5 | OUT OF EVERY FIVE KHARWĀRS,FOUR GO TO THE PEASANT AND ONE IS RESUMED |
| 2/5 | OUT OF EVERY FIVE KHARWĀR,THREE GO TO THE PEASANT AND TWO ARE RESUMED |
| 4/9 | OUT OF EVERY NINE KHARWĀRS, FIVE GO TO THE PEASANTS AND FOUR ARE RESUMED |

## 2.2: Urban Taxation

Apart from a sizable income coming to royal treasury in the from of land revenue from agrarian sectors, urban centers also contributed to *baīt-ul-māl*, by imposing certain taxes, which were generally levied in the form of custom duty, *chahalyāk* (boat tax), *muhrī* (tax on clearance seal at *ghats*), *mīsrī* (town tax), *dharat* (custom duty imposed on grain), *jazīyā* (tax on non-muslims), *ẓakāt* (toll tax), *and rāhdārī* (road tax).

*Dharat*, was a major levy, and was imposed on grains; indigo, tobacco and cloth.[1] It was quite a burdensome tax and amounted to a quarter of the value of commodity. On every *kharwār* (assload), one *toyāh* (weighing unit equivalent to 1 ½ Jahāngīrī *ser*) was realized from the buyer,[2] as *dharat* (A detailed list of taxes is provided in the Appendix- A).But when Dindār Khan became the *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan (1629-33), his *wakīl* Qaḍi Pirāh contrary to the regulations, levied it on the seller also. On every maund of indigo, he demanded three rupees, out of which two rupees were taken from the buyer and one rupee from the seller.[3] The rate of realization was generally two and half percent of

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1 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 172, 186.

2 *Ibid*, p. 172. One *kharwār*= 60 *kasāhs*. 1 *kasāh*= 6 *sērs*/4 *tōyahs*. That makes 1 *toyāh*=1½ Jahāngīrī *sēr*.

3 *Ibid*.

the value of commodities, but the author criticizes *wakīl* of *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan for levying more than what is authorized.[4] Thus, while earlier one *toyah* or one and half *sēr* was demanded as *dharat,* during the tenure of Dindār Khān(1629-33), it was increased and also during the tenure of Ahmed Beg Khān(1627-29) but the author does not tell the amount.[5] Scrievener, the English factor at Thatta, reported that the rate of *dharat,* "for the buyer was three fourth pice per rupee, and for the seller it was one- fourth pice per rupee, while in kind one *sēr* on each *kharwār* was realized." [6]

Another important and traditional tax, which was levied on boat at the rate of one -fortieth of the value of commodities, was known as *chahal-yāk,* also called *dastūr-i-kishtī*[7]*;* collected by a superintendant

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4 Out of 60 *kasahs* of grains, 2 *kasahs* were charged. On every maund of indigo which was 20 rupees per maund, 3 rupees were charged. On every maund of tobacco 7 *dāms* were charged, while one maund of tobacco was sold for 8 *tankahs;* which makes this tax to be more than two and half percent. See *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, pp. 172, 186. Before this also the tax was increased by Shēr Khwāja. pp. 146-147.

5 *Ibid*, pp.158, 186. The author complains here that this tax is in violation to the royal orders, and that the amount thus collected should be resumed and returned to the people.

6 *E.F.I., 1634-1636*, pp. 132, 133. According to him, "this tax was imposed by the governor of Thatta, on the selling and buying of all sorts of cloth."

7 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 186.

known as *darōghāh-i- chahalyāk.*[8] During the reign of Akbar, this tax was imposed at the rate of one- fortieth of the value of merchandize loaded in a boat.[9] At the time of Jahāngīr this tax was abolished along with *dharat*, yet it was illegally being levied upon the merchants in kind.[10] This tax was gradually increased and began to be realized in cash. During the tenure of Shamshēr Khān (1614-1616 A.D.), every boat loaded with merchandize had to pay *chahal-yāk* of ten *murādī tankās,* at a flat rate irrespective of the value of cargo, but later on during the tenure of Dindār Khān (1629-33) it was doubled to twenty *murādī tankās*,[11] for all boats reaching Thatta. However the boats going towards the port Lahari Bandar, were charged one rupee per boat as *chahal-yāk.*[12] In 1635 A.D. this charge was increased to six rupees, on every boat carrying merchandize of weight upto hundred maunds. The tax varied in other parts of Sind, and in Bhakkar and

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8 *E.F.I., 1646-1650.* p. 118; *E.F.I. 1655-1660*, pp. 79, 81.

9 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 186.

10 *Ibid.* During the second tenure of Mīr Qasim Khān Namkīn, this tax was being levied in kind, and from every boat (laden with goods) half a *sēr* of *nabat* (white sugar) was charged.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid*, also see *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, pp. 131, 139; Āsaf Khān , *ḥākim* of Lahari Bandar, had remitted half of the extra ordinary taxes that prevailed in Lahari Bandar .

Darbela, the boat tax was three-fourth of a rupee,[13] and in Nasarpur it was two and half percent[14]; but a merchant paid an additional six rupees as the dues of the concerned officer; besides *darōgha* also demanded an additional sum of eighty-eight rupees with the option that the English then do not have to pay *chahal-yāk.*[15] Boats coming from Lahore, via Multan towards Qandahar and Thatta paid two and a half percent as boat tax, with the additional four percent as *ghāt* charges.[16]

It appears from the *Factory Records* and *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* that the imperial officials were charging extra money from the merchants for their personal benefits. In Sehwan merchants were charged in excess of their dues, and in case of non-payment, the boatmen and the merchants were beaten, and detained at check-post.[17] In Bhakkar and Darbela, the English were exempted from *chahal-yāk*

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13 *E.F.I. 1655-1660*, pp. 79, 81.

14 *Ibid*, p. 79.

15 *Ibid*, 81. This demand was made to Scrievener and his companions. They were given the option of paying *chahal-yāk* along with the bribe of rupees eighty-eight, or just pay rupees eighty-eight and then exemption from *chahal-yāk* was guaranteed. Besides this they paid eighteen rupees more at Darbela [*jaggat*?]. It was owing to these illegal exactions that Multani and Thatta merchants had started moving out of this place.

16 *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, pp. 135-136.

17 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.172.The merchants were asked to pay rupees thirty-forty in additional to the tax.

after bribing *darōghah-i-chahalyāk.*[18] Not only officers, but sometimes their relatives also harassed the merchants with their coveted demands.[19] While bribery and corruption was common, there were honest officials as well. Alexander Hamilton, who visited Sind sometimes around 1699 A.D., was greatly welcomed by the Governor, and was exempted of all the custom duties on imports and exports.[20]

Another tax collected in urban centres, was *mīsrī* (town or city tax), realized at the rate of one rupee on every maund of goods; the rate is noted by the *English Factory Record* on goods taken by merchants from Sann and Bubeka to Thatta.[21] Then there are references to *rāhdārī* tax, which was abolished by Jahāngīr, but it was still realized from the

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18 Scrivener had made payment of eighty-eighty rupees, to the *dārōghah* at Bhakkar, and eighteen rupees more at Darbela *jaggalt* [?]. See *E.F.I. 1655-1660*, p.81

19 There is record of a dominant wife of Governor of Thatta, who constantly troubled the merchants by demanding commodities, and in return does not even pay half the value of their merchandize. *E.F.I. 1655-1660,* p. 79. Similarly Mirza Yūsūf, brother of Ahmed Beg, the *faūjdār* of Sehwan made the merchants pay him a considerable amount on every boat at ferries on account of *dastak* issued by him. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 155-56.

20 Alexander Hamilton, *op. cit*, vol I, p.122.

21 *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, pp.136-37.Here the rate is given against indigo which was coming from San and Bubeca. *Jamm-i-Badī* also record this tax, however it does not speak of the amount (ff38b-39a).

English merchants illegally not only in Sind, but in Dholpur also.[22] The amount recorded was rupees one thousand on the boats, going from Thatta to Multan, weighing above five hundred to two thousand maunds. The English Factory Records of the year between 1646-1650, show that this tax was renewed for the English traders.[23] Besides this, the merchants paid rupees twenty as *chaūkīdarī* (to the soldier for its guard), and ten to twelve rupees to the mariners.[24] Then there was another tax called *mūhrī,* which was collected at *ghāts*, for fixing a clearance seal on the goods of the merchants. Then, there was custom duty which was originally three and half percent of the value of goods at Thatta.[25] In Sehwan it was six rupees on hundred maunds, while in places other than Sehwan, it was eighteen to twenty rupees, on every hundred maund.[26]From this custom duty the share of the Governor was also deducted; on all sort of cloth brought from other places and sold in the city, his share amounted ¾ pice per rupee from the buyer and ¼

22 *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, pp.13, 136.

23 *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 120.

24 *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, pp.135-36. The English got their *dastaks* renewed, so that they could be exempted from *rāhdārī* tax. See *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 120.

25 *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 224

26 *Ibid*, p. 129.

pice per rupee from the seller, while on grain his share was realized in kind as one *ser* on each *kharwār*.[27]

There was *mahāsīl-i-ushur-i-banādīr*, which was two and half percent custom charge at the sea port; but this was abolished by Shāhjāhān.[28] During his reign Aūrangzēb reimposed *jazīyah* on Hindus, and the superintendents were appointed for its collection, who were called *darōghah-i-jazīya*.[29] Another very important levy was *zakāt* (toll tax collected at the rate of 2 ½ percent), which is also known by the name of *kharāj*, *tamghāh*.[30]Jahāngīr at the time of his accession had remitted *zakāt*, *tamghāh*, and other cesses also.[31]It remained abolished even during the reign of Shāhjahān.

27 *Ibid*, p. 133.

28 Ansan Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sind*, p. 172.

29 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Calcutta, 1928, 2vols and supplement, vol I, p.313.

30 *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, supplement, p. 183. Emperor Akbar had abolished *bāj* and *tamghah*, though at some distant places it was being collected at the rate of two and a half percent. *Ā'īn*, vol I, pp.291-2. During the Sultanate period *ushūr* or 2 1/3 % *zakāt* was charged from the muslim merchants and 5% was charged from the *zimmis* in accordance with the *shari'a*; I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of Sultanate of Delhi*, Delhi, 1958, pp.98-9.

31 *Tuzuk*, pp.5, 208.Tax *dharat* was also abolished by him. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 186.

There were other realizations also as the mints of Thatta, Bhakkar and Lahari Bandar also contributed to the urban taxation. Though no contemporary source on Sind contains any account of the administration of these mints, yet it may be presumed that these functioned according to the imperial rules and regulations; a regular staff of *darōg͟ha, sarrāf, amīn, mushrif, gārgīr* (treasurer), *tarāzūkash* (weighman), *garāzgir-i-k͟hām* (melter of the ore), and *warāq-kash* (the plate maker),as described in *Ā'īn*.[32] As the Mughal system was one of the open or free coinage, any individual could bring the precious metals (gold, silver, and copper) to the mint, and could get the coin struck in the imperial mint after paying the seigniorage of five and half percent of the value of the metal,[33] which was deposited in the treasury.

The officials also fined the offenders to increase their income. There is a reference of fine of rupees one lakh on Bumbai brothers (?), which were imposed by Emperor S͟hāhjahān, the reason being unidentified in the source. This fine, they were supposed to deposit at Thatta, in addition to rupees fifty thousand, which were taken by the

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32 *Ā'īn*, vol I, pp. 10-12.

33 Shah Purshah Hurmasji Hodivala, *Historical Studies in the Mughal Numismatics*, Bombay,1976, vol II, p. 131; *E.F.I. 1651-1654*, p. 118.

princes and other officials.[34] During the middle of eighteenth century, there are lots of illegal cesses, being imposed by the *ulema*, under the pretext of Islamic laws or *shari'at.* Earlier while a loaded camel carrying goods from Alor to Bhakkar was charged six *dāms* only, it was now being charged thirty-six *dāms*, under the command of the *ulema.*[35] Then there were other taxes as *muhāṣṣelāna* (fees of the bailiff), *darōg͟hāna* (fees of superintendency), and *chaūkidārāna* (fees of custom watchman).

The corrupt practices of the officials affected the trading activities and the amount reaching the Imperial treasury. These officials were making great fortunes at the expense of both the merchants and the imperial court.

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34 It's not clear, why these brothers were imposed such a heavy fine. *E.F.I. 1640-1650,* p. 119.

35 *Jamm-i-Badī,* ff 38b-39a.

## APPENDIX -C

### Custom duties and different taxes in Sind region as recorded by the English Factories

| | date | charges | weight | from | to | source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C-Custom duty R-*Rahdari* G-Governor's share T-Town tax, CY-Chahal yak. Z-Zakat | Nov 10th, 1623 A.D | The English were permitted free trade by Jahangir in Surat Cambay, Goa, Sind and Bengal | | | | *EFI, 1613-1615*,P.309 |
| | 1634-36 | CY-1 rupee | Per boat | | | *EFI,1634-36,P.P.131,139* |
| | Dec 18th, 1635 . | G.1 One quarter pice per rup[ee] or one seare (seer)<br><br>G.2- On cloth buyer pay ¾ pice per rupee<br>G.3- ¼ pice per rup[ee] [seller has to pay]<br>G.4-6 rupees<br><br>-18 to 20 rupees | On each good.<br>On each *corwar* (ass-load)<br><br>on all sorts of cloth<br><br>On 100 maunds<br><br>„ | Thatta<br><br>Sehwan<br><br>in Sehwan.<br><br>In Sehwan<br><br>Other than Sehwan | | *EFI,1634-1636*, P.P.129.131,13.<br><br>P.129<br><br>„ |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 5-CY- 6 rupees (increased)<br><br>6-CY-3/4th of a rupee.<br><br>7-CY-2 ½ % | On a boat carrying 100 *maunds* or more.<br><br>On every boat.<br><br>" | Bhakkar and Darbela.<br><br>Nasarpur | | E.F.I. 1655-1660,P.P.79,81.<br><br>" |
| | May Ist 1636 A.D. | Originally the custom duly remained 3½ % but as in Thatta the governor has estimated the prices of commodities at double rate, so, practically custom duty also got doubled | | | | *EFI.1634-1636* p. 244 |
| | March, 1639 A.D. | G-4 rup[ees]<br><br>T-1 rup[ees]<br><br>C- 2½ % + ¼ % more *Ghat* charges<br><br>R-1000 rup [ees]<br><br>10 or 12 | per sear on indigo<br><br>per *maen* on indigo per *maen* on indigo<br>on boats<br>Per *maen* on boats | San Bubeka<br>"<br>"<br>Multan<br>Multan<br>"<br>Thatta | Thatta<br>"<br>"<br>Qandahar + Thatta<br>Thatta<br>Multan | *EFI, 1637-1641*, p.p. 136, 137<br>p. 137<br>p. 137<br>p.<br>p.136<br>P.136 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | rupees to mariners and 20 rupees to the soldier for guarding the boats. | 500 to 200 *maens*. | | | |
| | | Āsaf Khān remitted in Thatta half of the customs that prevailed in Lahari Bandar (for the English) | | | | p.137 |

## As recorded in Persian Sources

| date | tenure | charges | weight | from | to | source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mid 17th c. [imposed by Qadi Pirah [*wakil* of Dindar Khan] | D. 3 rupees; rupees 2 from buyer, rupees 1 from seller; while the price of indigo was 20 rupees | On very *maund* of indigo or grain<br>On every *maund* of tobacco. | Sehwan<br>Sehwan<br>Sehwan | -<br>-<br>- | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī.* P.172<br>"<br>" |
| | | 2 *kasahs* | on every *kharwar* | Sehwan | | " |
| | | 7 dams | per *maund* of tobacco | | | |
| | | [thus of all the | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | three, tax worked out more than 2.5% | | | | |
| 1590s | | Z- 2.5% | | | | *Ā'īn,* vol I, P.P.291-2 |
| Before 1614-16. | 17th c. [tenure of Shamshēr Khān] | CY-a sir of candy [*nabat*] | On every boat | Sehwan | - | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī.* p.144. |
| | Qāsim Khān Namkīn | CY-Half a ser of white sugar [*nabat*] [in kind] | On every laden boat | Sehwan | - | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī.* p.186. |
| 1614-16. | Ist term of Shamshēr Khan<br><br>Second time of Shamshēr Khān [1616-1616] | CY-The price of one ser of white sugar ie. 10 *Murādī Tankas*<br>the tax [boat] was doubled to 20 *Murādī Tankas* | One very laden boat<br>"<br>" | | -<br>-<br>- | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī.* p.186,<br>„<br>„ |

# CHAPTER 3

# AGRARIAN SOCIETY

## 3.1: Landed Aristocracy: The *Zamīndārs* and their relations with the Mughal State.

The presence of *zamīndārs* in Sind, is well recorded in the seventeenth century. We have Persian chronicles, as well as *farmāns,*[1]that attest to the presence of *zamīndārs* in Sind.

The *zamīndārs* of Sind, were generally tribal chiefs, who were established in particular territories, with their armed retainers. There is evidence to show that the landed potentates enjoyed their privilege either owing to their hereditary claim, or as a favor from the Emperor. The author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahānī,* mentions old chiefs who caused troubles to the administration, being removed from the place, which they held for centuries, and been replaced by the obedient chiefs. As happened when Amīr Shāh Beg Arghun, replaced the troublesome old chiefs of Baluch tribe in Jatoi *pargana* of *sarkār* Bhakkar, and replaced them with Mahars (another tribe), by establishing them in the

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1 There are six *fārmans* of Aūrangzēb(1704-1705), Farukhsiyār (1716-1717) and Muḥammad Shāh(1722), which speaks of renewal of *zamīndārī* of one Mīr Shāhdād Baluch. These have been translated and published by. Prof N.A. Baloch, *Sindh: Studies Historical,* Karachi 2007, pp. 335, 337, 339, 341, 345, 349.

regions.[2] It is interesting to note that in Sind, *zamīndārs* and peasants often belonged to same tribe similarly as elsewhere in Mughal India the peasants and the *zamīndārs* belong to same caste. During the course of annexation of Sind, the local *zamīndārs* were subdued by Qarā Beg [when he proceeded towards Manchhur lake], and he obtained a large booty from them.[3] These were probably the local tribal chiefs. Similarly *zamīndārs* of *pargana* Chandukah (*sarkār* Bhakkar) belonged to Abhira, Sangi and Bukiyah tribes.[4]

The author of *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* refers to *zamīndārs* inter changeably with *arbābs*, and he speaks of two sides of these *zamīndārs/arbābs*, who act as subordinates, and also as rulers. According to him, "when they work under the supervision of *jāgīrdār*, they act as subordinate officials of the state. However, an autonomous *zamīndār* acted as ruler, refusing to obey the *jāgīrdār.*" Under *ijārahdārī* these *arbābs* used to agree to take *ijārah* on very high sums, but when demands of *ijārah* exceeded the paying capacity of peasants, these *zamīndārs/arbābs* absconded from the village and took to flight, since they themselves were not very well off, and therefore failed to

2 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 14-15.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 245

4 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.13, 17, 18

meet their financial commitments. As a result peasants too usually took to flight afraid of the repraisal by the Mughal official as well as of *arbāb*.[5]

We come across another term, *bhumīas* which was a synonym for *zamīndārs*,[6] who are mentioned in *Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī*. In Sind the term *bhumīas* is used for Nuhanis, [the Baluch], who were living at the hilly pass of *pargana* of Bubakan (in *sarkār* Sehwan), and were engaged in cultivation, and assisted the Mughal administration in assessing and collecting the revenue of the *pargana*. They paid a cess called *muqta'i* to the Mughal officials placed at Sehwan[7] Later, due to the short sightedness of *jāgīrdārs*, a large number of them were killed by the imperial forces. As a result they joined hands with Nuhmardis, and in defiance caused destruction of the *pargana*.[8] Since the

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5 *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

6 These *bhumīas* were "allodial proprietors," whom Colonal Tod identified with the *zamīndārs* . *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 177. Irfan Habib says, "a *bhumīa* is said to have been a real counterpart of *zamīndārs* in Rajasthan." P. 172; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī* also records the presence of *bhumīas*. P.56.

7 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 135-136.

8 *Ibid*. The reason behind this was, that some *zamīndārs* of Sehwan, who had an enemy towards them, instigated Shamshēr Khān, the *jāgīrdār*, to lead an expedition against them, despite the fact that these Nuhani *bhumīas* were very cooperative with the administration. As a result of which, their chief Natalah was

zamīndārs belonged to same tribes, as a peasants and their interest lied in continuation of cultivation, they are reported to have opposed the destruction of peasants.[9]

From time to time, *jāgīrdār* often sought their opinion while dealing with the local tribal population. These *zamīndārs* also acted as mediator between the imperial officials and the defiant nomads; and helped in running the administration peacefully.[10] The *jāgīrdār* trusted them and took their advice sincerely: he could count upon *zamīndārs* as his own people.[11] Since they were helping in realization of revenue, their remuneration was to be paid by the *jāgīrdār* from his *khālisah.*[12] 'The *zamīndār*, was at liberty to allow his retainers to any portions of the land they proposed to cultivate, but he was always held individually responsible for the revenue of the entire *pargana*. The

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killed along with his twelve sons, and sixty other kinsmen. As a retaliation these *bhumīas* joined hands with Nuhmardis, and became the guide of Nuhamardi army.

9 *Ibid*, p. 131.When Shamshēr Khān planned to attack and kill Samejahs of village Dira'un (Halahkandi), it was opposed by some *zamīndārs* of Sehwan.

10 *Ibid*, pp. 132-33. This happened when Shamshēr Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of sehwan had captured Husrah boatmen, who were troubling travellers, along with the Samejahs. Due to the intermediation of *zamīndārs* , not only captives were released, but Samejahs had promised to be obedient to the administration.

11 *Ibid*, p. 107. Bakhtiyār Beg, during his tenure in Sehwan, counted upon these *zamīndārs* , and did not tax them with oppressive exactions.

12 *Ibid*, p.20

servants and craftsmen of the village were paid in grain, even the carpenter who mended the wooden plough or the *patwārī* who weighed the grain at the time of *batai*.[13] Dindār Khān followed a very prudent policy with the *zamīndārs*. He bestowed a village on every *zamīndār*, who could muster some strength,[14] for the maintenance of law and order, and also when need arose at the time of collection of revenue. In order to improve cultivation in their area, these *zamīndārs* or chiefs dig canals out of their own share without any help from the administration,[15] or adopted other irrigation devices as erecting a Persian wheel. They also repopulated the deserted villages, for this they were rewarded also. Dindār Khān, *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan, gave the village of Amiri in *jāgīr* to Sayyed Yūsuf, and *arbāb* of Sann, and village Thatta to Sayyed Jung, Sayyed Hasan of village Lak'alwi as a reward,[16] and ensured the safety of the roads, by keeping away the

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13 T. Postans, *Personal Observations on Sind,* p. 238. Cf H.T Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, London 1940, p. 156

14 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 164

15 *Ibid*, pp. 13, 17-18; *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 113; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri*, p. 58. The *arbābs* of Sann and Bubeka planted Persian wheel to improve cultivation of indigo. *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 119.

16 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 167, 224

disturbing elements.[17] But there were other times when these *zamīndārs* themselves created problem for the administration. The *zamīndār* Rāna Rūkun of Lahari Bandar violently confiscated the property of certain merchants. As a result Ẓafar Khān, sent son of Amīr Khān, serving in that province, against Rāna Rūkun, and by 7th September, 1655, this rebellious *zamīndārs* were severely dealt with.[18] In another instance, the *arbāb* of *pargana* Kabar, due to his differences with *shiqqdār* of Halah Kandi, absconded, and joined hands with Samejah Unars, attacked the town of Halah Kandi and caused the death of *shiqqdār* and the destruction of the town. At that time Husām-al Din Murtazā Khān II was *ṣūbedār* of Thatta. He sent his son Sam-Sam al-Daūlah. He then imposed heavy indemnity on *arbābs* of *pargana* Halah Kandi and Samwati, and obliged them to execute *tamassūkāt-i-sh'aria* (legal bonds). Unable to fulfill their obligation, they extracted money from the poor, peasants.[19] However, Mughal Emperors instead of taming them sometimes followed the policy of appeasement towards these chiefs, by granting them *jūzwī manṣabs* (petty *manṣab)*, and restoring *zamīndārī* to them on the

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17 N.A. Baloch, pp. 315,316.

18 Inayat Khān, *Shāhjāhnāmā* (tr), p. 509

19 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 38, 39.

condition that, they will be a helping hand for the governor.[20] There were other *zamīndārs,* who had *ta'luqa zamīndārī,* and at the same time were rank holders also: whose *zamīndārī* was renewed from time to time. Mīr Shāhdād was the *zamīndār* of Abreja of *pargana* Hala Kandi, and maintained two hundred and fifty foot and sixty horses. A revenue order of Aūrangzēb dated 1705, confirms the *ta'luqa zamīndārī* of Shāhdād Baloch in Pingharo of Gambat circle, *pargana* Halah-Kandi.[21]It is already stated that the appointment of *zamīndārs* by grant from the court was a practice, which comes into particular prominence during Aūrangzēb's reign;[22] he was largely motivated by the desire to establish loyal supporters, in order to counterbalance the power of the old and potentially seditious *zamīndārs.*

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20 *Ibid*, p. 34. Emperor Jahāngīr gave these *manṣabs* to Jām Hāla and Rāna Umar of Kihar and Nakamarah clan, who were involved in robbery.

21 N.A. Baloch, pp. 315-328. Mīr Shāhdād was the ancestor of Talpur Mīrs, Mīrs who ruled Sind after the invasion of Nadir Shah. He was confirmed this *zamīndārī* along with the additional cultivated area, but with the condition that he will guard the safety of *ta'luqa zamīndārī,* and also of highways from Samejah dacoits. After the death of Noor Mohammad, his son Mīr Shāhdād became *zamīndār* of the area. See Lieutenant Hugh James, *Report on the Pargana of Chandookah in upper Sind,* in R. Hughes Thomas, *Memoirs on Sind,* Delhi, 1985, vol II, p. 712.

22 Irfan Habib, *op.cit.* p.386.

There were another category of *zamīndārs,* the religious persons who were granted lands as *madad-i-ma'ash* which became a *zamīndārī* tenure over a period of time. Captain F.G. Goldsmith (1854), records the presence of Sayyed *zamīndārs* of Roree (Rohri), who had *farmāns* of Emperor Shāh 'Alam (A.D. 1709), granting the *zamīndārī* rights to them. They were substantial proprietors, whose grants renewed with the conditions that they will clear the roads of robbers, will bring waste land under cultivation an offer prayer for the royal prosperity and permanence.[23] The *arbābs* and *muqaddams* were also *zamīndārs.* These zamīndārs never waited upon Emperor Akbar, or Emperor Jahāngīr. They had obtained *muṣammatī farmāns* in time of Jahāngīr by which, they had secured control over the productive tracts of land; which were cultivated by the peasants, without any help from the *zamīndārs.* They were among the fourth category of *a'immah* class.[24] The *zamīndārs*, were effectively the rulers of rural

23 Captain F.G. Goldsmith, *Memoir on the Syuds of Roree and Bukkur*, in R. Hughes Thomas, *Memoirs on Sind*, Delhi, 1986. vol I, p. 80; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*,vol II, pp. 191-192.

24 This class often bribed *jāgīrdār,* if they even try to investigate into the condition of *a'immah* class, this class of *zamīndār* came forward, paid them bribe and the same amount they recovered by imposing equal cess. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*,vol II, pp. 191-92.

Sind. Their position was founded on wealth from their estates but there was more to it than that. Such a *zamīndār* earned his initial state through the traditional authority his family had built up over the generations, and maintained respect through his personal regulation. His power over the peasants (*ra'iyyats*) or the landless cultivators was visible and immediate: a word from him would turn out a whole village to repair a *bund* (embankment) or to pursue incalcitrants and the robbers.

The *zamīndārs* who were really cultivating the land, suffered sometimes at the hands of tyrant *jāgīrdār*. This happened when *wakīl* Qaḍi Pirāh, *wakīl* of Dindār Khān, forcefully took on undertaking from the *arbābs (zamīndārs),* to cultivate two to three times more than previous year in the *khālisa* villages under *faūjdār* Dindār Khān. At the time of harvest, he demanded the amount double of the estimate, and under pressure *arbābs* and *muqaddams* agreed to pay *ijārah,* and charged the entire amount from the peasants, leaving aside their own cultivation.[25] In this situation while some *zamīndārs* used to abandon

25 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 171-72. This atrocity were conveyed to the royal court by some Hindus of the town of Bubakan, under the leadership of Parbat, as a result a *firman* was issued prohibiting *ijarah* system and re imposition of *ghalla-bakhshī.*

the place (along with the peasants of their *zamīndārī* area) while other joined rebel groups, which happened in *pargana* Bubakan, Kahan, Patar and Akbarabad.[26] Thus the peasants and *zamīndārs* together joined hands,who belonged to same clan, with the rebels against Mughal *jāgīrdārs*' oppression.[27] As a remedy it was recommended that imperial army should put fear in their heart, so that if they harbor rebels or insurgents, they will be dealt in the same manner as the imperial officials deal with the recalcitrant.[28] However, there was still a large number of local *zamīndārs*/tribal chiefs, who would not be supplanted altogether[29] It was really important for the imperial administration to control these feudal lords, in which they succeeded to some extent because in Sind generally the farmer was at the mercy of the *zamīndārs* or *arbābs* and therefore, he followed his lord, and any revolt by *zamīndārs* meant the revolt of his dependent farmers. They would not dare to oppose them.[30] The only option left to them

26 *Ibid*, pp.163, 172, 177, 198.

27 *Ibid*, pp.244, 245.

28 *Ibid*, pp. 197,198.

29 Ba<u>kh</u>tiyār Beg had subdued such six Unar chiefs; Pāriyah, Badlah, Maḥmūd, Farīd, Jayūndah and Jūdah. *Ibid*, p. 94; *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 125.

30 During the *faujdarī* of Ahmed Beg, the Pahawar chief Baha-al-Dīn, revolted against him in retaliation to the imposition of *gawshumārī* tax and branding of

was to take flight from their location. In fact these tribal chiefs or *zamīndārs* were the real land potentates, who were an important part of rural social structure of Sind. Their contribution made a village prosperous and peasants happy, but their oppressive attitude, either deliberately, or under circumstances, led to the misery of peasants and destruction of villages. Their importance can be realized from the fact that the future ruling dynasty of Tālpur Mīrs was from the *zamīndār* class itself. The nineteenth century British reports also speak of *zamīndārs* as *wāderō*, which Robert Giles, the acting commissioner in Sind, described as, "a title of respect given to large *zamīndārs*. It could not be conferred upon lesser man. The *wāderō* already recognize there responsibility in regard to crime and assistance to government, while in no way regarding themselves as government servant." These *wāderōs* were unwilling to accept the village headman ship as they feared that they had to recognize British overlord ship by that."[31] However the position of small land holders was shaken, as they were unable to make a living from their shriveling holdings, and were forced to mortgage their property to *banīa* moneylenders.

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cattle, and when other chiefs supported Ahmed Beg, the rebels killed them. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 155.

31 David Chessman, p. 110.

Gradually their land passed to their creditors,[32] which was unthinkable during pre-British period joining agrarian society with these mercantile communities agrarian relations also changed, because earlier when in the rural sector of Sind kinship ties played important role, exploitation was less required. But with changed relationship the mechanism also changed and therefore, the presence of *haris* (landless labourers), and the increased dependency of landed class upon them increased in the nineteenth century. They could not mortgage, sell or otherwise transfer their property as they wish unlike that in Mughal period. Since mostly the moneylenders belong to Hindu community as Muslims were forbidden by their religion to lend money on interest these financial affairs were taken up by the *baniās* of Hindu community they were mostly a part of landed aristocracy. According to an investigation in 1896, Hindus held twenty eight percent of the occupied area in 1895-96 half a century before, they virtually had nothing.[33] But Richard F. Burton blames the extravagant lifestyle of *zamīndārs* for their loss of land to merchant-moneylenders. The *zamīndārs,* maintained a lavish lifestyle, and borrowed money from

32 *Ibid.* p.162.

33 David Chessman, Table. 8. p.145.

*banias* to retain their luxurious lives. As Richard F. Burton has recorded in 19th century, "As long as the *zamīndārs* could procure his daily bread and dose of *bhang* [opium], support a wife or two and possibly a dancing girl, wear a sword and ride a horse, he would rarely, if even, concedes end to think or care about his property."[34]

34 Richard F. Burton, *Sind and the races that inhabit the valley of the Indus*, London. 1851, p. 46

## 3.2: The Peasantry: Peasants' relationship with the *Zamīndārs* and *Jāgīrdārs.*

The fact that peasantry in Sind was highly stratified as elsewhere in the Mughal Empire is evident in the seventeenth century gazetteer *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* which uses various terms for the peasants such as *ra'iyyat-i-khālis* (pure peasants) *ahshām-i-ra'iyyat* (peasants of submissive tribes), and *ra'iyyat-i-rēzah* (petty peasants), for the peasants in Sind. There were other peasants also who were called *muwājībī.*[1] The first two categories of peasants are generally consists of tribal people, who had taken up cultivation, got settled at one place, and were acting as owners of land chiefs/*zamīndārs,* while the latter category was of those peasants, who have means of cultivation i.e. land, cattle and tools, but they were small peasants and

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[1] *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp.20, 28, 103. There was a village Kahi Majubi, in Sehwan towards the Lakki mountain. Since it was situated at a very dangerous path, some to attacks of hill insurgents and Samejahs, the peasants of this village were given *muwajibi* (a sort of pension) for keeping the path to Lakki mountain open. This reward was adjusted against the revenue demand during the days of Tarkhāns. However, Qāsim Khān Namkīn adopted the same policy, and Nut Bandah Baluch, who were living in the village Lak 'Alwi of San *pargana* [*sarkār* Sehwan] guarded other side of the path and in lieu of this, they were not charged with revenue demand, and whatever they cultivated was given in *in'am* to them. See p.218.

often belong to same clan, as their *zamīndārs*. There were agricultural labourers, who being landless were cultivating the lands of others. They were called *haris*.[2] They were actually agricultural proletariats, who earned their livelihood by working in the field of landholders. They grew in large number, as the pastoral communities were turning into cultivators; the demand for these agricultural labourers also grew. In rural society of Sind, the kinship ties played very important role, besides their functional relations. These kinship ties becomes evident at the hour of crisis; it was due to this bonding that, in spite of much of oppression, the peasants of Sind never revolted against their

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[2] There is no mentioning of term *haris* in the Mughal period, but the colonial records frequently mention the presence of *haris* and the dependence of the *zamīndārs* on them. David Chessman, *Landlord power and rural indebtedness in Colonial Sind 1865-1901*, pp.12-73. Though *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, also refer to these agricultural labourers, who worked in the fields of landholders (see p.215), and got share in the produce, against their labour. May be these *haris* can fall under the category of *pai'kasht* peasants.For the definition of *pai'kasht*, see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.130. Some *haris* were nomads, while some belonged to a settled population, who did not leave there own abode until there was a more suitable reason. This happened when in 1872-73 hundreds of *haris* left Sukkur and Rohri, where water supply was undependable, and came to places where supply from desert canal was offered. The desert canal supply was so abundant that *haris* could pick and choose, where they would work. (David Chessman, pp.74-75). But they were definitely the share croppers, as they have their cattles and ploughs as mean of cultivation.

*zamīndārs,* but against the arbitrary rule of *jāgīrdārs*; against whom the headmen /*zamīndārs,* and peasants often stood together.[3] Moreover, besides being point of the expediter class, these *zamīndārs* themselves harmed their peasants, it was either owing to the disinterest of the *jāgīrdārs* in their territories and thereby adopting *ijārah* that caused oppression of the peasants by the imperial revenue machinery, or due to the constant raids of the nomads, or the inter-rivalries between *ahshām-i-mardūm* (tribal people), and *ahshām-i-ra'iyyat.* Whatever was the case infact the peasants remained the sufferers.

Yūsuf Mirāk often interchanges chiefs with peasants, and chiefs with *arbābs and muqaddams,*[4] which clearly reflects the upward social mobility of the tribal people, who had settled as peasants, and being the chief of their clan,[5] they acquired larger landholdings and became a part of landed aristocracy. These chiefs provided safety to the peasants at the time of cultivation and

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3. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahāni,* vol II, pp. 244-45.

4 *Ibid,* pp. 20-21, 103, 155.

5 Tribal called *ra'iyyat. Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.162. The Samejahs had also taken up cultivation in area especially of Sehwan. PP.95, 96, 130-131. chiefs of *pargana* Kahar in Sehwan, who were engaged in cultivation, were called *ra'iyyat. Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.162. The Samejahs had also taken up cultivation in area especially of Sehwan. PP.95, 96, 130-131.

patronized a class of agricultural labourers.[6] These *ahshām-i-ra'iyyat*, were paying the revenue to the imperial officers, and due to their subservient and cooperative nature, they cooperated with the *jāgīrdārs*, and other revenue officials. Since their vested interest now solely lie in the cultivation; its security and improvement became their prime aim. They acted as informer, of about the possible raids of the hill tribes, and time to time informed *jāgīrdārs* about it.[7] In return, the *jāgīrdārs* also awarded them with the reduction in revenue demand, and by giving *in'am* in form of land,[8] or they were given new lands to settle down.[9] The big peasants, who became the part of revenue collection mechanism, benefited by the share in the produce, but the peasants who were cultivating lands for others were also benefited by their share in the produce of the land. Sometimes their

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[6] *Ibid*, p. 199.The peasants of *pargana* Darbelah [*sarkār* Bhakkar] cultivated their fields, while the Sahtahs chiefs guarded them with their army, from the fort of Karank against the Samejahs.

[7] *Ibid*, pp.151, 153, 196-197.

[8] *Ibid*, pp.167, 213, 224, 229, 230.

[9] *Ibid*, p.66.The Pahawar peasants replaced the *Machchis* of *Nairun Qalan*.. This arrangement was basically to get revenue out of this area, as Machchis were defiant and were not paying the revenue.

share for their labour amounted to more than its holder.[10] Similarly, the peasants who were living in the hill, the raids prone area, were supported further with suitable revenue demands, as the peasants of Jankar, Bazaran, Kachi, and of *maūzā* Nar of *pargana* Bubacan, who were constant pray to the raids of Chandiyah Baluch and Nuhmardis were assessed on the basis of *ghalla-bakhshī*, in which share of 5/9 was settled i.e. five with peasants, and four part taken as revenue while the peasants of Kahi Maju'bi were exempted from revenue.[11]

The peasants, who were working in fields of others, were given aid, and irrigational facilities by the landowners,[12] but the cultivation was done as per the requirement of the landholder. But there are instances which show that small peasants, were cultivating the

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[10] *Ibid*, p.215.The peasants who were cultivating the *in'am* lands of the Sayyeds of village Tiri [in *sarkār* Sehwan], were taking four share, out of five, leaving only one share with the *Sayyeds.*

[11] *Ibid*, p. 213. They were remitted one extra share so that they arm themselves against hill tribes of Nuhmardis and Chandiyah Baluch of *sarkār* Sehwan.

[12] *Ibid*, p.191. The *arbābs* of Sann planted persian wheels as the irrigation device in their fields for the better produce of indigo. See *E.F.I.1646-1650*, p.119. Since water lift irrigation devices and digging of canal, were expensive ones, therefore the small peasants depended upon the *zamīndārs* and *jāgīrdārs* for these facilities. See also *Tārīkh-i Sind*, p.113, *Tārīkh-i Tāhīrī*, p.58.

*jāgīrdār's khālisa sharīfa* [probably without any share],[13] but they were provided assistance in cultivation by the *ai'mmah* class.[14]

The peasantry of Sind mostly suffered at the hands of was two classes; firstly by those who did not have their vested interest in the cultivation especially the hill nomads Nuhmardis and Chandiyah Baluch, who were pure pastorals and often indulged in rapine, plunder, and abduction of men, and cattle. While they were doing it for their benefit by abducting peasants, their children and cattle, and selling them;[15] there was another class, of imperial officials, who got benefited by the soil, but did not care about the land and its people; and instead their arbitrary behaviour forced the peasants to sell their children, women and cattle.[16] The author constantly reminds that peasants are the real treasures, and they were friends of the Emperors and nobles, but they are suffering, while the Emperors, and officials [especially *amīls*] are passing their time in luxury; luxury which they acquire out of the peasants earning in the form of revenue, without

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[13] *,Mazhar-i Shahjahānī*, vol II, p. 180.

[14] *Ibid*, p.180.

[15] *Ibid.*, p.p.17, 133. The hilly people Chandiyah Baluch, raided the *parganas* of Baghbanan, Kahar and Akbarabad, captured peasants and sold them as slaves.

[16] *Ibid*, p. 21.

undergoing any toil or drudgery themselves.[17] As it has been discussed by Irfan Habib that the frequent transfer of the *jāgīrdārs* led to the exploitation of peasantry.[18] This exploitation by *jāgīrdār* or by his officials was carried out mainly in three ways; firstly by the imposition of illegal cesses, secondly, by the imposition of *ijārah*, and thirdly, imposing *ẓabtī* on the rain irrigated villages, where keeping in view the arid climate of Sind generally *g͟halla-bak͟hshī* was preferred. As regarding the illegal cesses, in *Jamm-i Badī*, author says that, "they [the imperial officials] have nothing to do with the prosperity of the peasants or region, they are only interested in raising money by wrong means."[19] There is another evidence of imposition of illegal cesses by the *jāgīrdārs*; it happened when Ahmad K͟hān became the *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan (1628-29), he imposed *gaw-shūmārī* (cattle tax), which was already abolished by Jahāngīr and was still banned, when Ahmad K͟hān imposed it.[20] The author of

[17] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*. p. 244.

[18] Irfan Habib,*op.cit*, p.369.

[19] *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff.43a-44a

[20] *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.155.

*Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, is often found saying that the officials should not demand anything other than the, legal demands.[21]

In regard to the method of assessment, except the *barānī*, and *sailabī* lands which have alluvial deposits or the places, where artificial irrigation devices were being used by the peasants, the peasants of Sind generally preferred *ghalla-bakhshī* as in this they shared the burden with *zamīndārs*, and in case of failure of crop they shared risk with the state, and in crop sharing they cultivated low yield areas also, but whenever the *ẓabt* was imposed on them even in the rain irrigated area,[22] either their rebellion[23] broke out, or their condition totally deteriorated; to meet the revenue demand thus imposed, they had to sell even their means of cultivation;[24] and their

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[21] *Ibid*, p.51. There he says that the excessive exactions of *jāgīrdār* should be abolished by a royal decree.

[22] *Ibid*, p.155.Ahmad Beg imposed *ẓabt* on rain irrigated villages like Ararah in Akbarabad Wahi of *sarkār* Sehwan.

[23] The Magnejahs of *parganah* Kakari of Bhakkar *sarkar* revolted against, the imposition of *kānkūt* by Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad, *Mīr 'Adl* of Amroha (posted as *ḥākim*), and fixing the quota of five *mann* per *bigha* irrespective of good or bad quality of crop. See *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 9; *Tārīkh-i Sind*, p. 245.

[24] *Ibid*, pp.146-147, 205-206. The peasants of Kachi village of *pargana* kahan and Bubakan were provided with reduced share in crop-sharing during the period of Shamshēr Khān Uzbek, but after his tenure, the *jāgīrdārs* of that area imposed

destruction further progressed by the raids of opponent tribal group. Their troubles further accentuate by the *jāgīrdārs* with the imposition of *ijārah.* The *ijārah* system was being practiced, due to the frequent transfer of the *jāgīrdārs*, they instead of collecting revenue through their agents; generally farmed out *jāgīrs* to *arbābs*, and *muqaddams*, and thus caused the suffering to the peasants. Yūsuf Mirāk states that , "this suffering was twofold: since the *arbābs* and *muqaddams* in Sind were also not very rich,[25] and by succumbing to *ijārah,* they did not pay their own share of revenue and even exempted portions of their relatives, and shifted entire burden on the poor peasants. But after sometime, when paying capacity of the peasants totally declined, these *arbābs* fell short of the *ijārah*, and to avoid the arrest as a punishment, they rebeled and abandoned their homes and ran away. As a consequence of their flight, the peasants also fled from the area.[26] The author also mentions that in Bhakkar, because of the imposition of *ijārah,* and the demand of revenue irrespective of the deaths *(faūtī)*, and flights *(farārī)*, had driven the peasants of

*ẓabtī*, in some parts while in some parts their demand was fixed, which proved detrimental peasants.

[25] *Ibid*, p. 20

[26] *Ibid*, pp. 19-21.

Chandukah, Matilah and Takar into rebellion, after their *arbābs* were imprisoned by Ḥākim Sālih.[27] Here, the peasants supported their chiefs against the *jāgīrdār,* the tribal ties perhaps being one of the reasons for this alliance. *Sarkār* Sehwan suffered much of destruction of its peasantry at the hands of Mughal *jāgīrdārs*.[28]Being unaware of the peculiarities of the region, they did not understand the problems and basic requirements of the peasants. Some of them were so tyrant that they did not even allowed the presence of *waqīa nawīs* (news reporter) in Sehwan. During his tenure, Dindār Khān (1633-34 A.D.) did not accept *waqīa-nawīs* Na'imatallāh who came from Bhakkar, and second time Abd'al-Bāqī, sent by Man Singh from Bhakkar.[29] Similarly he also did not bother to send his *qānūngō* to the court [with bailiff], when asked to produce account of *dehsāla*, and reason

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[27] *Ibid*, pp. 244- 46.Jallō, the *arbāb* of *pargana* Matilah, Siddīq and Shāh Beg, the *arbāb* of the *parganah* Chandukah, were imprisoned by Ḥākim Sālih. However, they could not capture Abd'al Wāhid, *arbāb* of *pargana* Takar; who was helped by the Samejahs. As a retaliation of the capture of their *arbābs*, the *arbābs* killed Dayāl Dās, a relative of Man Singh, the *diwān* of Bhakkar.

[28] Yūsuf Mirāk even goes on saying the peasants [of Thatta] were better and prosperous during the days of Tarkhāns; when peasants were happy and were provided with better conditions. P.52.

[29] Nai'matallāh was slained under the Sehwan fort but the administration did not bother. *Ibid*, p.177.

for the desolation of his areas.[30] But the *jāgīrdārs* who belonged to Sind as Mīr M'asūm Bhakkarī, Qāsim Khān Namkīn, and Abu'l Bāqā, they tried to improve the conditions of peasants of their area. M'asūm Bhakkarī, when appointed as a *jāgīrdār* of Darbela *pargana*, in the first year of his tenure, according to recorded evidence, only five hundred *bighas* of cultivated land, belonged to peasantry and *ai'mmah* class. To improve the cultivation he gave encouragement to the peasants, and by the next autumn crop (*kharīf*) the cultivated land in his area rose to fifty thousand *bighas*.[31] He also instructed his *ra'iyyats* to not to clear off forest while looking for cultivable land;[32] which suggests that land was in abundance, and he had encouraged the peasants to bring new area under cultivation. He had also got canals excavated from the river to plains, in order to provide better irrigational facilities.[33] Similarly, when Mīr Abu'l Qāsim Khān Namkīn was given Sehwan in *jāgīr*, except *pargana* Kahan, and

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[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid*, p. 13.

[32] *Zakhirat-ul Khwānin*, vol, p.205.Since there was a willingness of the state to recognize the peasants' right of occupancy, and its anxiety to prevent him from leaving the land were both natural in an age where land was relatively abundant and peasants scarce.

[33] *Mazhar-i Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, p. 17.

Juneja and some parts of Khittah, the first thing he noticed was the abandoned villages. He summoned his *qānūngōs,* and asked for the list of the villages in the area. He called the absconding peasants and settled them in the villages, the peasants of Lak'alwis of Sann, were also resettled by him;[34] the peasants of Kahi Ma'ujubi, were called from Bhakkar, and were resettled, similarly Nut Bundah Baluch peasants were got resettled in Lakki mountain towards *pargana* Sann, and their produce was given in *in'am* to them.[35] He started *madad-i-ma'ash* grants to the scholars.[36] But there were other *jāgīrdārs* also, who in order to save their territories from the raids of tribesmen, promoted submissive peasant tribes. As Lakah peasants were patronised and also the Pahawars.[37] Dindar Khān also partially rehabilitated lakahs and Korejahs (submissive tribe peasants), in village Adarbeli of *parganah* Sann.[38]

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[34] *Ibid*, pp. 73, 108.

[35] *Ibid*, pp. 215-216.

[36] *Ibid*, p. 121.

[37] To reduce the oppression of Lakah peasants, by the Samejahs, Dindar Khān reduced the state share to 1/4th for lakahs, the policy which was followed by Shamshēr Khān Uzbek but after them *jāgīrdārs*' oppressive nature again revealed. *Ibid*, see p.p. 229-30 for lakahs, pp. 205-206 for their oppression, and pp. 66, 75-76 for the promotion of Pahawars.

[38] *Ibid*, pp. 74-75.

Despite this fact, the tyranny of these *jāgīrdārs* remained due to constant transfers, they did not have any affinity with the peasants and the land, and they knew that they will be given another *jāgīr*, they did not care much sometimes even they were given better *jāgīrs.*[39]As regarding the peasants though the peasants had their affiliation towards the kinsman *zamīndārs*, yet whenever other clan, dominated the area, they did not have any other option, but to succumb to new chiefs' wishes.[40] They sided with the *zamīndārs*, who were strong and also patronized by the imperial officers. But when these *zamīndārs* also oppressed them due to greed of *jāgīrdārs*, these peasants took to flight or sometimes became rebellious. And joined hands with defiants groups like Samejahs, Nuhmardis etc,[41]

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[39] *Ibid*, p. 177. Ahmad Beg Khān, whose arbitrary regime reminded the author of the tyranny of Al Hijjaj was simply transferred from Sehwan to Multan, even when the Emperor (Jahāngīr) received lot of complaints against him.

[40] *Ibid*, p. 80. In the *parganah* Lakut of Sehwan, the lakahs were the dominating the area, who were revenue payers, and were patronized.

[41] Baluch of *pargana* Babkan, who were quite submissive, joined hands with Nuhmardis. Similarly peasants of *pargana* Khittah, Sann and Juneja [*sarkār* Sehwan] joined hands with the Samejahs, and abandoned their homes and fields. *Ibid*, pp.135-36, 229-30.

and sometimes they took to armed revolt.[42]These types of revolts not only cause the destruction of villages, but increased the strength of the defiant groups, and thus increased the problem of administration. Since the *zamīndārs* were their kinsmen, sometimes, when *jāgīrdār* in order to control the defiant tribes had decided to take actions against one or two of their groups, who had surrendered and taken up cultivation; the *zamīndārs* did not agree to the wrong and inhuman deeds of the *jāgīrdār*.[43] They showed their affinity towards these peasants; which suited to their interest.

Thus, the oppressive tendencies of the *jāgīrdārs* and revenue machinery in Sind caused much destruction to the peasants. Not only the peasants, but sometimes the *zamīndārs* also suffered under their oppression. These two classes of rural society mostly belonged to Muslim faith,[44] the Hindus were mostly engaged in trade but in the later part of the nineteenth century. They intruded into agrarian

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[42] *Ibid*, p. 9. The Magnejah peasants of Kakari *pargana* of Bhakkar *sarkār* went into rebellion against the imposition of *kankūt*.

[43] *Ibid*, p.131.When Shamshēr Khān Uzbek planned to attack and kill Samejahs of village Diraun (Halahkandi), who had given up their arms and taken to cultivation, was opposed by some *zamīndārs* of Sehwan.

[44] *Ibid.*, p.242. See also David Chessman, p.162.He says that *zamīndārs* were mostly Muslims.

relations; and became a part of the ruling class of rural Sind. During the later half of the seventeenth century the peasants suffered the wrath of Mughal *jāgīrdārs*,[45] not only the peasants, but smaller *zamīndārs* also suffered, and those who survived, later in the nineteenth century came under the clutches of *banīas* and *sāhūkārs* (money-lending merchants) because of their monopoly of rural credit system; and thus their entry into Sind agrarian society. Thus was called "The curse of the cultivators."[46]

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[45] Yūsuf Mirāk, clearly states that, "people of Thatta were happier under Tarkhāns, than the Mughal *jāgīrdārs*, and Sehwan had become the land of forsaken of the cruel and of the helpless [peasants] through the oppression of the *jāgīrdārs*." (*Mazhar-i- Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.52, 173-74).

[46] David Chessman, p.163.

# CHAPTER 4

## THE TRIBES
## Their Conflict with the Sedentary Population, and with the Imperial Officials

The geographical features of Sind put it in the category of the great river-desert basins as of the Oxus, Helmund and Nile. That is, before the present canal system it had a fairly narrow agricultural zone, which resulted in an interaction throughout its history between sedentary population, and nomads of the desert and steppes, on its east and west. They had attracted attention of almost all the contemporary accounts of Sind region, but *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* (1634 A.D.) provides a more intensive description of them, mostly as trouble makers; whose main source of sustenance was pastoralism.

However, the contemporary evidence depicts a somewhat different pictures of them, because here they did not remain pure pastorals (except Nuhamardis), some of them took the occupation of peasants along with pastoral traits, and came to be called *ahshām-i-ra'iyyat*,[1] and some became pure peasants (*ra'iyyat-i-khālis*), while

[1] In fact, they were *ra'iyyat-i-khālis* or pure peasants; but *ahshām-i-ra'iyyat* was used even for those, who'd partially adopted the manners of peasants; and submitted the Mughal officials, posted in that region; e.g. the Mandarahs of *sarkār* Chakarhala,

some of them were involved in trading activities also. They were indeed an integral part of the agrarian society of Sind, and had permanent territories, pertaining to their jurisdiction. Their tribal structure was still functioning even under the Mughal rule; they had their own chiefs, their own armed retainers, and most importantly their own particular territory. In fact the geographical features of Sind determined the socio-economic pattern of these pastoral communities. Those who remained in hills adhered to their pure nomadic life, while those who moved towards desert area like *Pat* and *Thar* became *ahshām-i-ra'iyyat*, and ones who inhabited river plains of lower Indus valley, became pure peasants (*ra'iyyat-i-khālis*).

Amongst the nomads, Kihar (Arghuns) and Nakamarah clan of Meds[2] Mandarah, Kalimati, Jokia, Chandiyah, Nuhani, Babar, Lasharis, Magasis, Dardasht, Lorai, Shar, Delkini, Katuhar, Bulidi, Dinaris and

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Mughal officials, posted in that region; e.g. the Mandarahs of *sarkār* Chakarhala, and the Sanarayah (Samejah) of Sehwan. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 35. For the physical division of Sind see, O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan*, pp.504-5.

[2] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 34. The Nakamarah were a subdivision of the Meds, who inhabited the entire coastal belt from Kathiawar to Makran, and were notorious for their piracy at sea. See R.N. Saletore, *Indian Pirates*, first pub. Delhi, 1978, p. 21. These Kihars are also mentioned as Ghurs, who were probably Sammah in origin. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, pp. 239-40.

Rind clans of Baluch and other like Nuhmardis, Shurahs, Lakahs, Samejahs, Pahawars, and Panni Afghans dominated the region.

**The Kihars and Nakamarahs:**

They were present in *sarkār* Thatta.[3] Before the Mughal rule in Sind, the Tarkhāns had subdued them. Since robbery was their sole occupation[4], and they could be a constant trouble to the inhabitants of port town, therefore, the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr had followed a policy of appeasement towards them, and had even granted *juzwī manṣab* to their chiefs Jām Hālah and Rānā Umār.[5] As a result of which, they submitted to the Mughal authority, and even provided military help to the Thatta Governor whenever required.

**Baluch:**

The Baluch were quite dominant in the area of upper Sind especially Bhakkar and Siwi. They even had control over several forts in this area, prior to the Mughal rule.[6] Besides this, they inhabited

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[3] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 34.

[4] These Nakamarahs had looted the boats carrying the gifts of the King of Sarandeep (Sri Lanka) to Al –Hijjaj . They were residents of the port Debal. *Chachnama* (tr.), p. 70.

[5] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 34.

[6] *Ibid,* p .32. They were subdued by Sultān Maḥmūd Khān, during the Arghurn rule, and wrested many forts from them. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 220.

*sarkār* Thatta, Nasrpur, Chachkan, Chakarhala of *ṣūba* Thatta, and *parganas* like Baghbanan, Bubakan ,and Haweli Sehwan of *sarkār* Sehwan. A mid-nineteenth century records mentions Baluchi tribal structure as: "Their ignorance and the uncivilized state in which they live, renders it difficult to reduce them to obedience and discipline! Each clan obeys only its chief; but if danger threatens anyone, messengers on camels and horses are dispatched in every direction to summon all that can bear arms…."[7] The seventeenth century Persian records show a number of Baluchis present in Sind; Kalimati and Jokia Baluch, whose combined armed retainers numbered three thousand horse and foot.[8] The chief of Jokia was Bājal Jōkīa.[9] Though they

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[7] Leopold von Orlich, *Travels in India including Sinde and Punjab*, tr. from German by H. Evans Lloyed, first published, London, 1845, sec. pub. New Delhi, 1998, vol I, p.94.

[8] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.50-51.

[9] He lived near Thatta. His son had a clash with the son of Governor of Thatta, Sayyed Bayāzid Bukhārī. Which was the only incident, where they had clashed, otherwise they were always subservient to the Mughal authority. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 50-51. Alexander Burnes records that, "these Jokias are the descendants of the Suma[Sammah] Rajpoots, who governed Sinde in former years. They became converts to the Mohmmeden faith when the Hindoo dynasty was subverted, and still retain the Hindoo name of their tribe, and claim consanguinity with the Jhareja Rajpoot of Cutch. They can bring 2000 men into the field."Sir Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara.*vol III. p.252.

offered a regular *falsānah* to *sāhib-i-ṣūba*, yet the Mughal *ṣūbedār* always maintained a regular *thāna* in the fort of village Narelah[10] of *sarkār* Thatta to keep a check on them. They had an open hostility with Nuhamardis of Sehwan but due to larger strength of Nuhmardis, the Kalimati and Jokia Baluch remained inferior. Other tribes were Mandarah Baluch of Chachkan, and Babar Baluch of Chakarhala. The Mandarah Baluch of Chachkan, had taken up cultivation, and were defiant,[11]but during the Governorship of Muzaffar Khān Ma'amurī, they were subdued, and obeyed the orders of *jāgīrdār s* by paying land revenue on time.[12] The Babar Baluch of *sarkār* Chakarhala were more defiant but, they also were subdued by the strong governors like Muzaffar Khān Ma'amurī, and Sayyed Bayāzid Bukhārī.[13] The local chiefs in Bhakkar were still Baluch, because of their age old hold in this

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[10] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 50- 51.

[11] *Ibid*, p. 35.

[12] *Ibid.* During the Governorship of Muzaffar Khān Ma'amurī, Abu 'al Baqa, who was *jāgīrdār* of Badin (brother of Yūsuf Mirāk, the author), had subdued them.

[13] *Ibid,* pp.46, 47, 49, 50. Mīr Abdūr Razzāq Ma'amūrī or Muzaffar Khān Ma'amūrī was a *ṣūbedār* of Thatta twice during Jahāngīr's reign and once during Shāhjāhān's reign with a rank of 2,500/1000. *The Apparatus,* pp.60, 68, 116. While Sayyed Bayāzid Bukhārī had appointment in Thatta twice, as a *ṣūbedār* of Thatta in the years 1619-1620, 1621-1622 A.D., respectively, with a rank of 2000/1, *The Apparatus*, pp.74, 80.

area; they belong to different tribes of Baluch such as Jatoi, Bulidi, Kurai, Dardasht, Lorai, and Shar.[14] In Siwi, some of Baluch tribes had taken up cultivation such as Lasharis, Magasis, Katuhar, Dubinki, Dinaris and Rinds, who were quite submissive to the Mughal authorities.[15] Here perhaps, they were involved in trading also, which dealt with hilly items like *zahri* horses, chequered carpets, *sanjari* rugs, mountain camels and goats.[16] While some had local posts also, as of *ijārahdār*, and *arbāb*.[17]

Among the notorious Baluchs name of Chandīyah Baluch is very prominent: who inhabited *pargana* Bubakan, and *pargana* Haweli Sehwan of *sarkār* Sehwan.[18] Nicholas Withington, who had visited Sind in 1614 A.D, had identified them (Baluch) as robbers on highways

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[14] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 15.

[15] *Ibid*, pp. 29-31. Except at one place when Qūch 'Alī, the then *jāgīrdār* of Siwi besieged the fort of Kuhyar, and the Baluch chief Ibrāhim Khān had a fight with him, but he ultimately sued for peace.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Ibrāhim Baluch, who was *ijārahdār* of Samitani *mauza* had even purchased *qāzi* of that village for 100 rupees in goid ((*Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, p.158). The reason of this sell is not mentioned by the author.

[18] *Ibid.* pp. 90, 99, 100, 101.

and river pirates.[19] They were the real trouble makers for the administration. They belonged to the *salāmī* category, prior to the Mughal rule, and used to accompany previous rulers in their military campaigns.[20] They were divided into two faction; *Gōrā* (white), and *Kārā* (black)[21], their armed retainers numbered 1,000 horse and foot.[22] They were partially involved in cultivation, but their involvement in mischievous deeds like cattle lifting, abduction of human beings (*adam-dūẓdī*) and sale of free born people (*hurr-firūshī*); [23]was to its full. They used to capture peasants of this area and sold them as slaves.[24] The Mughal officials showed no mercy in dealing with them. They were completely subdued during the tenure of Ba<u>kh</u>tiyār Beg Turkmān in Sehwan (1593-98). He along with Mirza Anwar of

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[19] Nicholas Withington, *Early travels in India*, ed. William Foster, First pub., London, 1921, First Indian edition, New Delhi, 1985, p. 212; Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p.115.

[20] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, pp. 86, 87, 90.

[21] *Ibid*, p. 87. A nomad Baluch called Chandūkāh had two sons; Gōrā and Kārā. Their descendants are known as *Gore* Baluch ,and *Kare* Baluch.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid*, pp. 17, 86, 87, 146.

[24] *Ibid*, pp. 132, 133. They were also responsible for the destruction of *pargana* like Baghbanan, Kahan, Patar, and Akbarabad.

Bhakkar,[25] and submissive nomads as Pahawars, Korejahs, and (surprisingly) with Samejahs, led an expedition against them. The *jāgīrdār* had appointed a *shiqqdār* amongst them for the regular realization of revenues from them.[26] Among the Baluches, there were some who provided helping hand to the administrative machinery in running the administration smoothly, and in controlling the recalcitrant; Nuhani Baluch were one of such, who lived 14 *kurohs* from Sehwan.[27] They were engaged in cultivation, and paid part of the revenue of *pargana* Bubakan. The *jāgīrdārs* of Sehwan were very much impressed by their bravery.[28] Bakhtiyār Beg had even bestowed honors on them, and entrusted them with the responsibility of safeguarding the passes lying towards the villages of *pargana* Haweli Sehwan, in order to check the Nuhmardis raids on the villagers.[29]

**Samejahs:**

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[25] *Ibid*, p. 99. Mirza Anwar was the son of Khān-i-Azam Mirza Kūkah, who was the *jāgīrdār* of Bhakkar. But he had sent his son to Bhakkar in his place.

[26] *Ibid*, pp. 100-101.

[27] *Ibid*, p.135.They were divided into two: Nuhanis of Ka'i spring and Nuhanis of Niing spring. Natālah was the chief of Niing clan.

[28] *Ibid*, pp. 97,135.They had accompanied Bakhtiyār Beg, Qāsim Khān Namkīn, and Shamshēr Khān in their Military expedition.

[29] *Ibid*, p. 97.

The Samejahs' dwellings were in *sarkār* Nasrpur, *pargana* Baghbanan, Kahan, Bubakan and Haweli Sehwan of *sarkār* Sehwan, while Chanduka, Takar, Matilah and Alor *pargana* of *sarkār* Bhakkar. The Samejahs are divided into twelve clans; which are Bukyan, Tibah, Junejah,[30] Pariyah, Dal, Kibarah, Utah, Lakiyar, Rajpal, Bihan, Mangiwanah and the Unar. The Unars are further divided into five factions which are Rahus, Dahiri, Sand, Sanarayah and Kiriyah. The Sanarayahs again were further divided into four *jama'ats*; namely Darejah, Rahujah, Manahijah and Firuzjahs. Tibahs, Dals, Unars and Sanarayah were the most troublesome, who had 5,000 to 6,000 armed retainers horsemen and foot.[31] They were very defiant. Their arrogance perhaps emerged out of their close relations with the earlier Arg͟hun and

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[30] The Junejahs were descended of Arabs, who resided in Sehwan, Bhakkar and Thatta, ever since the time of Ummaīyyads and Abbāsids. Other tribes, who were also descended from the Arabs are Baluches, Pahawars, Abirahs, Korejahs, Halah potrah, Palli, and Lakahs. *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, pp.55-57.

[31] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, p. 104. They had enmity with Hālahs of Halahkandi [*sarkār* Nasarpur],Korejah and Pahawars of *pargana* Juneja, and the Sahtas of *pargana* Darbela (*sarkār* Bhakkar),Lakah and the Halahpotras from the *parganas* of Lakut and Khittah, and amongst the sand hills of Jaiselmer,the Rajputs. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 85.

Tarkhān rulers;[32] but inspite of this, they did not even hesitate in creating troubles for them.[33] They were pastorals, but were having agricultural pursuits also. They were even holding the posts at local levels like that of *arbābs*.[34] The crop they generally grew was that of millet and barley, but the revenue that they paid, was in the form of camels and goats, which sometimes led to their clash with the imperial forces, due to putting higher prices on these cattle.[35] They were quite often blamed for stealing the cattle of peasants. Their constant raids had destroyed *pargana* of Samwati and Halahkandi in *sarkār* Nasarpur; and thus causing a total loss of six million *dāms* to Mughal exchequer.[36] After the theft and raids, they often used to retreat towards the neighboring areas like sand hills of Jaisalmer from Sehwan, or towards

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[32] Paraya Samejah, one of the chiefs of Samejah Unars, was brother in law of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān, and they even had their kinship with Qāsim Khān Arghun who was *ḥākim* of Nasarpur. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 117, 126, 188. The Samejahs had played very important role during the reign of Mirza Bāqī Tarkhān (1565-1585), by lending support to his brother, who aspired for the throne. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 211-12.

[33] They were responsible for killing the wife of Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, Ra'ihah Begum; daughter of Nāhid Begum. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, p. 90.

[34] *Ibid*, p.38. Yūsuf Samejah was the *arbāb* of *pargana* Kibar.

[35] *Ibid*, p. 105.

[36] *Ibid*, pp. 36, 37.

Nasarpur from Sehwan.[37] Bakhtiyār Beg Turkmān, (*jāgīrdār* of Sehwan), led an expedition against them in *pargana* lakut, and after imprisoning their six chiefs namely Pariah, Bodlah, Mahmud, Farid, Jayundah and Judah, imposed a fine of 24,000 *laris*, and warned Qāsim Khān Arghun (*hākim* of Nasarpur on behalf of Mirza Jāni Beg), not to give asylum to them.[38] He had appointed his own *shiqqdār* in the *tappah* of Unars, for the regular realization of revenue from them, like other peasants.[39] Officials had built forts and established strong *thānas*, in village Winjarah, of *pargana* Halahkandi and in village Kajran of *pargana* Baghbanan, which he named Jahangirabad,[40] so that they can check their raids on one hand, and stop the Samejahs to cross the frontiers on the other.

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[37] *Ibid*, p. 118. Abu'l Baqā (*jāgīrdār* of Sehwan) had chastised them along with imperial forces, when they crossed Sankirah river and went towards sand hills of Nasarpur, and to Jaisalmer. The imperial forces had killed their chief Tālib along with 1200 Samejahs in the fort of Sadgar.

[38] *Ibid*, p. 95.

[39] *Ibid*, p. 96.

[40] *Ibid*, pp. 139-40, 110,119.

These Unars patronized every kind of mischief: they along with Husrah boatmen ambushed travelers along the river routes;[41] and would loot them. Another clan of Samejahs, who were engaged in mischief, was of Sanarayah, whose armed retainers numbered 5000 in *pargana* Lakut.[42] They owned five villages in *pargana* Lakut, where they were engage in cultivation, namely Dira'un, Katirah, Winjarah, Sabih and Paryari;[43] but they did not pay revenue either in cash or kind, instead compromised for *ijārah* on a negligible fixed amount. But the mode of payment was horses, camels, cows and donkeys.[44]

The Samejahs too maintained their tribal structure. Each clan had its own head, own armed retainers, and whenever trouble came, they united irrespective of the responsibilities they were given at village level.[45] Their defiance had caused a great trouble for the administration. For their own sustenance, they had taken cultivation, yet their

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[41] *Ibid,* pp. 129-30, 131. The merchants were not able to pass their territory without a strong guard. *E.F.I 1637-1641*, p. 137. A Samejah named Rahūjah Arabī, was a ruthless robber in Sehwan. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 167.

[42] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, p. 84.

[43] *Ibid*, pp .85- 86.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid*, p. 38. Yūsuf Samejah, who was the *arbāb* of *pargana* Kibar had sided with Unars against Mughals.

occupation of robbery, and stealing of cattle were not given up, which caused a loss to peasants who coexisted with them.

**Nuhmardis:**

The only clan which retained its true pastoral character was that of Nuhmardis.[46] They inhabited the hilly area of *sarkār* Chakarhalah. These shepherds were constantly on the move in search of good pastures. They owned lot of cattle, and their armed retainers numbered 6,000 on horse and foot. The finest breed of camels (*shutūrān-i-rangīn*) was found with them.[47] They were divided into four *tarafs* (sections): namely the *taraf-i-kanbo,* the *taraf-i-hārūn*, the *taraf-i-chōlī,* and the *taraf-i-lashkarī.*[48] Their means of livelihood involved cattle rearing, cattle stealing, plundering, and barter trade. A caravan of theirs comprising between 4,000 to 5,000 camels regularly came to the city of Sehwan, and traded mountain products like checquered carpets, camels, horses, goats, rugs for grain, arms and cloth.[49] They generally avoided clashes with the imperial forces, and troubled mostly the peasantry,

[46] *Ibid,* p. 90. The Nahmardis dwelt in Khattar (Kirthar) range, which runs from Sehwan to Siwi. *Ā'īn*, vol II, p. 165. Originally the Nuhmardis were Samejahs who belonged to the *sālāmī* category during Arghuns and Tarkhāns.

[47] *Ibid,* p. 88.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Ibid,* pp. 111, 124, 239.

whose cattle they used to steal. Except one or two incidents, their *thānahs*[50] were never invaded by any of the *jāgīrdārs*. Shamshēr Khān had even patronized Mūrīd, one of the chiefs of Nahmardis, and gave him Tihni (in *pargana* Bubakan), in *jāgīr*,whose income amounted to Rs.2000 to 3000.[51] They even regularly paid the *falsānah* in the form of camels, horses, and goats.

**Shurahs:**

The Shurahs inhabited *sarkār* Chakarchala of *ṣūba* Thatta. Even since the days of Tarkhāns, Shurahs were defiant and dominant in the region. Their hold in this region was so strong that, that the high Mughal officials were seeking their favour in solving their personal matters.[52] Another chief Da'ud Shūrah, who lived in the Khasa-i-Shurah, commanded a large number of Husrah river pirates, who

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[50] *Ibid,* p. 88. Whatever place they settle in, they call it *thānah.*

[51] *Ibid,* p. 136. The reason behind this was their military assistance, which they provided to the *jāgīrdārs* at the time of need. The Nuhmardis were actually located in Sehwan , but since *sarkār* Chakarhala shares a boundary with Sehwan, so, after the extermination of Shurahs, Samejahs and Babur Baluch, they got control over this region, and *jāgīrdār* of Chakarhala gave few villages in *jāgīr* to them. P. 50.

[52] Khusrau Beg, *ḥākim* of Thatta, was suppose to be replaced by Sa'idinah, by the orders of Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān, but Khusrau Beg, instead of complying to the orders, (after getting the news of death of Ghāzī Beg) sent Ismaīl Shūrah, one of the chiefs, who assailed and looted the property of Sa'idinah. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, pp. 41-42.

threatened both land and river routes.[53] But they were subsequently subdued by the strong Mughal Governors like Muzaffar Khān Ma'amurī, Sayyed Bayāzid Burkhārī, and Shēr Khwāja.[54]

**Panni Afghans:**

They were settled in Siwi, and maintained 2,000 to 3,000 armed retainers.[55] They were brought under jurisdiction by Mīr Qāsim Khān Namkīn, during the reign of Akbar, and *ijārah* was imposed upon them in cash as well as in kind.[56] But they continuously caused trouble for the administration, even during the period of Jahāngir. At the time when Qūch 'Alī Kūrd was the *faūjdār* of Bhakkar, the Panni Afghans had tried to wrest the fort of Siwi, but in vain.[57] With the arrest of their leader, they were suppressed to some extent.

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[53] *Ibid.* p. 43.

[54] *Ibid*, pp. 46, 47, 48. Ismaīl Shūrah's son Jungār Khān died in captivity in Thatta, and the remainders submitted, while Da'ud Shūrah got settled at Bela (*sarkār* Chachkan) and became submissive.

[55] *Ibid*, pp. 28, 29, 30.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid*, p.31. Later on even during the tenure of Sayyed Bayāzid Bukhārī, these nomads tried to raise their heads but were again suppressed and their chief Jangī Khān was arrested and brought to the fort of Bhakkar.

Besides these troublemakers, and recalcitrants nomads, there were others, who were submissive throughout the Mughal rule in Sind, and behaved like *ra'iyyat-i-khālis* (pure peasants).

**Pahawars[58] and Korejahs:**

The Pahawars were docile peasants; who inhabited the river plain area and had a hold over fertile lands. Yet they had their tribal traditions within themselves. The *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan Bakhtiyār Beg, had made them settled at Nairun Qalah and named it Akbarabad.[59] All the four streams of this region were taken as territory of four of their clans, headed by their four chiefs[60] namely Musa Pahawar, 'Isa Pahawar, Da'ud Pahawar, and Jalāl Pahawar. They maintained their own armed retainers who were around 4,000 to 5,000 including that of Korejahs'.[61] Due to their open hostility with the Samejah Unars, on the issue of acquiring fertile lands, which were under the possession of Pahwars whenever imperial army went against Samejahs; the Pahawars

[58] *Ibid*, p.66.The Pahawars called themselves Qurayshi, and trace their descent to Bībī Halīmah, the foster mother of the Holy Prophet.

[59] *Ibid*, pp. 65, 66. The original inhabitants of Nairun Qalah were Macchis (fishermen).

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid*, pp. 103,104.

and Korejahs helped the imperial army.[62] Sometimes they even acted as mediator or negotiator between defiant clans and administrative machinery.[63] It was probably owing to this reason that many of them were holding the post of *patwārīs, qānūngōs*, *arbāb* and *muqaddam*.[64]

**Lakahs:**[65]

Another nomadic group which remained submissive to the Mughal administration, was that of Lakahs who inhabited *parganah* Lakut side by side with Samejah Unars.[66] A open hostility existed between the two; as a result of which lakahs were always a favorite of *jāgīrdār s* of Sehwan. They openly assisted the Mughal officials in

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[62] *Ibid.* pp.75, 76, 103, 104. Samejah Unars of *parganah* Kahan (*sarkār* Sehwan) had set fire to Pahawar and Korejah villages and plundered it. In retaliation, they helped *qanūngō* of Sehwan Jaīsar Hindū, to defeat Samejahs, under the leadership of their chief Baha'al-dīn Pahawar.

[63] *Ibid*, p. 133. When Chandīyah Baluch attacked *parganas* of Baghbanan, Kahan, and Akbarabad, Samshēr Khān, the then *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan rode against them; they approached Pahawars of neighboring area to act as mediators ,and on their intercession the agreement took place between the two parties.

[64] *Ibid*, p. 156.

[65] They were originally Arabs. See *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol.III, part I, pp. 55-57.But in *Chachnāma*, Lakahs and Sammahs are mentioned as Luhanas, who were Hindus originally. *Chachnāma* (tr), p. 170.

[66] They also inhabited *pargana* Sann, again sharing it with Unars. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp.74, 79, 80. They are included in the list of eighteen original Arab tribes, who inhabited Sind. *Tuhfat'ul Kirām*, vol.III, part I, pp. 55-57.

military expeditions against the Samejah Unars.[67] They also acted as an informer to the administration.[68]

**Darejahs:**

The Darejahs mainly inhabited the region Bhakkar especially Alor, Siwi and Fathpur, and were a constant source of trouble. These Darejahs had twice evaded the payment of revenues to Sultān Maḥmūd K͟hān Kōkaltāsh of Bhakkar and even attempted to expel him from Bhakkar.[69] But with the assistance of Sayyeds of Bhakkar, Sultān Maḥmūd subdued them; and captured their forty chiefs, and executed twenty-seven of them.[70]

**Magnejahs:**

They inhabited *pargana* Kakari of *sarkār* Bhakkar.[71] They had taken up cultivation. Except once their clash with the Mughal officials,[72] they were submissive and obedient.

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[67] *Ibid*, pp. 74, 79, 85.

[68] *Ibid*, p.79.

[69] *Tārīk͟h-i-Sind*, pp. 122-23. Darejahs are included in the list of *sarkar* Bhakkar as the *zamīndārs* of Alor, Siwi and Fathpur. *Ā'īn*, vol II, pp. 163, 164.

[70] *Ibid. Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.8.

[71] *Ibid*, p .9.

[72] When Mīr Sayyed Muḥammad ,*Mīr Adl* of Amrohah, became *ḥākim* of Bhakkar, he imposed *kankūt* on peasants which was resented by peasants including Magnejahs.

Other tribes which are noted in the region were of Sahtas,[73] Pallis, Jajars and Korejahs (in *pargana* Sann of *sarkār* Sehwan).[74]

**Sahtas:**

They inhabited *pargana* Darbela of *sarkār* Bhakkar and had a control over the fort of Karnak, but due to their animosity towards Samejahs they cooperated with the *jāgīrdār s*;and in reward they were considered for concession in revenue demand.

**Jats:**

The Jats were treated very harshly during the reign of Rai Chach. They were basically guides of the travelers and caravans. Though they were acting as headman and were referred as *ranās*, yet they could never ride horses.[75]

Burnes mentions other tribes as Mooana and Shaikh Lobana. The Mooanas basically inhabited the different banks of the rivers, and

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Sayyed Abu'l Fazl son of *Mīr Adl* of Amroha chastised them, and subdued them. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*,vol II, pp. 9-10; *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 245-256.

[73] They inhabited *pargana* Darbelah of *sarkar* Bhakkar. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, pp.10, 11.

[74] *Ibid*., pp. 72, 77.

[75] *Chachnāma* (tr), pp. 170, 171. The Jats even fought in the army of Dahar against Muḥammad Bin Qāsim's army. Muḥammad Qāsim had imposed punitive tribute on them. However Sir Alexander Burnes mentions them as, "erratic tribe in the Delta of Indus."Alexander Burnes, vol III, p. 251.

adopted the occupation of waterman. They emigrated from Punjab, and were employed in navigating the boats; or fishing in the sea or river.[76]The tribesmen of Sheīkh Lobana, also migrated from Punjab, who were engaged in making reeds and mats. They also killed wild animals, but not held in high esteem by the rest of the people.[77]

Definitely the presence of pastoral communities in Sind, demarcated its population, from the other *ṣūbas* of Mughal Empire. They remained dominant in agrarian society; and made their presence recorded in almost all the contemporary chronicles. Their internal structure remained same, even their living conditions also remained like that of pure nomads. Nicholas Withington had recorded that, "Their houses were like beehives, made of straw, and mortar; whenever Mughal officials chased them, they burnt their houses and used to run to the mountains."[78] But the houses of their chiefs were rather roomy and ornamented with carpets.[79] The Balooches of Sind, were generally armed with a long matchlock, saber, shield and bows and arrows;[80]

[76] Alexander Burnes, vol III, pp. 251, 252.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India* ed. William Foster, First Pub. London, 1921, First Indian ed. New Delhi, 1985, pp. 209-10.

[79] Leopold von Orlich, vol I, p.95.

[80] *Ibid.*

which was their constant companion. Since many had taken up cultivation as a means of sustenance, their hold in agrarian section became so strong that sometimes they were at par with the *zamīndārs*. Their deep roots in the soil of Sind, was even realized by the Mughal officials, who often sought their cooperation and assistance. By taking advantage of the open hostility that existed among them, the Mughal officials followed the policy of checks and balances, by promoting some, and by suppressing some; which was essential for the smooth functioning of the political as well as revenue administration.

# CHAPTER 5

# THE TOWNS

The medieval Sind besides having agricultural zones, and rural population had big towns, and a large number of sedentary population; which contributed to its polity, economy and culture. All the major towns of Sind, were located along the river Indus, which controlled maritime commercial activities, and made communication and travel very convenient and speedy.[1] Therefore to control and secure river routes, from north to south, was the first and major priority of the Mughals.[2] The prosperity and decline of these towns, also depended upon the river course. The destruction of old town of Alor, and the birth of new towns like Bhakkar;[3] shifting of the centre from Nasarpur to

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[1] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.148, here is a reference of ferry check post and querying of boats; the problem which was solved by Shēr Khwāja, *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan,which gives a picture of busy maritime activities . Also see, Alexander Hamilton, vol I, pp. 123-24.

[2] Probably that was the reason that immediately after Mughal occupation of Sind, Akbar secured port of Lahari Bandar, and taken it under *khālisa-i-sharīfa. Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 91.

[3] Henry Cousens *The Antiquities of Sind,* p.76; J. A. Abbott, *Sind- A reinterpretation of the unhappy valley,* first pub. London 1924, reprint Delhi, 1992, pp. 60, 66.

Hyderabad[4] are examples of effect of change in river course on towns' socio, economic and political life.

Among the famous towns of Sind, were Thatta, Lahari Bandar, Bhakkar, Sukkur, Sehwan, and Nasarpur. The first among these was Thatta, which was the capital city and a great emporium of trade. It was generally referred as Debal[5] in chronicles. The town was three miles long, and one and half mile broad.[6] The city was situated north of the river, to its south, at a distance of three *kos* was the Khanwah canal which was built by Dariya K͟hān.[7] This canal before entering the sea joined *Nar* more than ten *tanāb* wide, and one could navigate it till Thatta.[8]It is quite surprising that Thatta being the chief city did not

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[4] M. R. Haig, *the Indus Delta Country*, p. 4; Henry Cousens, p. 167. Also see. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas*, p. 15. sheet 5B.

[5] *Tārīk͟h-i-Sind*, pp. 6, 8. Jam Nanda bin Babiniya laid the foundation of Thatta city. *Tārīk͟h -i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp.52, 53. Arab chroniclers had frequently mentioned Debal as ancient port of Sind. *Chachnāma* mentions it as a port town where mainly merchants resided, and had a big idol temple of 40 cubit high and its dome also 40 cubit in height. *Chachnāma* (tr.), pp. 57-8, 81.

[6] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 115. While according to Henry Pottinger it was nearly six miles in circumference. See Henry Pottinger, *Travels in Baluchistan and Sinde*, reprint. Karachi, 1986, p. 351.

[7] *Tārīk͟h-i-Sind*, p. 113; *Tārīk͟h-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 58. Mīr Ṭāhīr had referred to this canal as *Nara-i-Barikh*.

[8] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, p. 136.

seem to have a very strong fort,[9] as firstly during the Arghuns' attack, and secondly during Portuguese attack, the fort could not defend the city very well.[10] The fort was so much disliked by Darā Shikōh, that he had almost burnt it.[11] However, this fort had a palace for the *Nababs* (governor) and could lodge 5000 men and horse.[12] In seventeenth century Thatta was a famous centre of learning in Theology, Philology

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[9] Though the author of *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, refer it as small but strong, fort situated towards Multan. Another fort was situated on a hill, at a distance of two *kos* from the city called Tagharabad and Kalankot. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 33. This fort of Taqhrabad was built by Jam Tughrur of Samma dynasty. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 52.

[10] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp.114, 184; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp. 111,114.

[11] When Darā had come to Thatta during his flight, he did not like the average appearance of the fort and ordered it to be burnt down. *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, pp. 331-34.

[12] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 115; *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 33. The fort which had residence of governor was other than Tagharabd. Da Laet has also recorded that, "the governor of the province of Sind lived in a well fortified citadel." Da Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. J.S.Hoyland and annotated by S.N.Bannerjee, Bombay, 1928, p. 68. He also states that, "the journey from hence to the capital Lahore takes two months, but the reverse journey only one……Insects are here far less of a pest than in the other Indian ports, especially Surat." This fort is even mentioned in *Chachnāma*, which was under the command of *malik* (governor) of Sahiras (son of King Sahasi Rai). *Chachnāma* (tr.), p. 12.

and Politics, and there were four hundred colleges for training up youth in these parts of the learning.[13]

The inhabitants of the city included nobles, men of learning, poets, merchants (foreign as well as Indian), bankers, calligraphers, artisans, soldiers, weavers and dyers.[14] Its' population was probably more than 80,000.[15] When Nādir Shāh had entered Thatta in 1742 A.D., there were 40,000 weavers, 20,000 other artisans, and 60,000 dealers in various departments of the city.[16] Probably most of its population was Muslim,[17] but Hindus, were also present, and enjoyed religious freedom.[18] Foreign merchants were welcomed in the city and the administration took care of them, and they were provided comfort and religious freedom.[19] As the city economy was mainly trade oriented, besides it being a fertile agricultural zone, and producing minerals like

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[13] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 127.

[14] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 33; For the presence of bankers see *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 131.

[15] Alexander Hamilton, had recorded, "due to severe plague ..... above 80,000 died.... And above one half of the city was deserted and left empty."Vol I, p. 122.

[16] Henry Pottinger, p. 352.

[17] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 33.

[18] Alexander had described the celebration of *Holi* though he had called it *Wooly*. Alexander Hamilton, vol I, pp. 128,129.

[19] *Ibid.*

saltpetre, borax, opoponax, asafetida, lapis lazuli, goat bazaar etc.[20] After its annexation to Mughal Empire, a Mughal mint was also established, which minted silver, as well as copper coins.[21] The English had opened a factory here, where their chief factor used to reside,[22] though the Portuguese had already established themselves at Thatta, ever since the days of Tarkhāns.[23] The foreign merchants' interest in this city was mainly because of its excellent cotton textiles, which were in fact, better than the Gujarati textiles.[24]

Thatta being the chief city, had a famous port, Lahari Bandar, which was situated on the bank of western branch of river Indus, Baggaur, some 28 miles south-east of Karachi, and 40 miles form Thatta.[25]Ibn Battūta in the 14th century had found it to be a fine town on the sea coast, possessing a large harbor, visited by merchants from Yemen, Persia and other countries and yielded in tax (probably custom

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[20] *Ibid*, p. 125.

[21] Nelson Wright , *Mughal Emperors of India, Oxford,1908,* vol I, pp. IXXXIX, IXXX.

[22] *E.F.I.1634-1636*, p. 132.

[23] For the coming of Portuguese see. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* pp. 111-12.

[24] Francisco Plesaert, *The Remonstrantie*, tr. By *W.H.Moreland* and P. Geyl as *Jahangir's India*, Delhi, n.d, p. 32; *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, p. 312.

[25] Edward Thornton, vol II, p. 16.

duty) a large amount (6 million *dinārs* or silver *tankās*).[26] Abu'l Fazl includes it in the *sarkār* of Thatta with a total revenue of 55, 21, 419 *dāms*.[27] The 18th century *Mirāt-ul-Hind* shows Lahari Bandar as a separate *sarkār*, comprising two *maḥals* only.[28] Its possession was so important that Akbar took it under direct administration (*khālisa*). During Shāhjahān's reign it was said in hyperbole to be so a big port that it could accommodate 1000 ships at a time.[29] Ships of up to 200 and 300 ton burden called here.[30] Royal ships used to sail from here to Red Sea.[31] This port city was so for inland that it took three days to reach Lahari Bandar from Thatta.[32] Large vessels and ships used to anchor at Lahari Bandar, and after unloading the cargo, the

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[26] Ibn Battuta, *Al-Rahela*, tr.by H.A.R. Gibb, as *Travels of Ibn Battuta 1325-1354 A.D.*, New Delhi, 1993, vol III, p. 602; cf p. 599 and n. Though Alexander Hamilton records Lahari Bandar as a village of 100 houses built of crooked sticks and mud. Alexander Hamilton, vol I , p. 114

[27] *Ā'īn*, vol II, p. 166.

[28] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas*, p. 14, sheet 5A col (b).

[29] Ināyat Khān, *Shāhjahānnāma*, tr. p. 212. Instead of Lahari Bandar, Ināyat Khān has mentioned Thatta as the port.

[30] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 114

[31] Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and trade in Mughal India*, pp.251-52.These ships were built at Lahore as Thatta could not provide sufficient timber for its manufacturing.

[32] *Ibid.*

merchandize were brought to Thatta in small boats up to river,[33] and by the land on packed animals. Lahari Bandar had a strong fort, which had four to five guns mounted on it.[34] Whenever any ship entered the port, a gun was fired to inform the local merchants and inhabitants of the towns of its arrival. They used to approach the ship, in small boats (*g͟hūrabs*) to negotiate terms. If the ship did not belong to the port, it was not allowed to anchor inside the channel, but had to anchor in the roadstead off coast. From there, its cargo was transferred to small boats, and sent to the city Thatta.[35]

Besides these maritime activities, a brisk traffic went on between Thatta and Lahari Bandar, Hamilton records that a place four miles from the port towards Thatta, contained a fort called *dung-bam* It was used as *sarāi* and twenty cottages around the building served as the breeding centre of fowl, goat and sheep, supplying the needs of those

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[33] Francisco Pelsaert, pp. 31, 32.

[34] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 114.

[35] *Tārīk͟h-i-Ṭāhīrī* p. 114. For the navigation the localites used vessels called *kishtīes* of several sizes. "The largest could carry a burden of 200 tons, which were flat bottomed, and each side had cabin built from stern to stem, that overhang about 2 foot, and in each cabin, is a kitchen, and a place for exoneration." Alexander Hamilton, vol I p. 123; *Ā'īn* mentions that at least 40,000 boats were present in Thatta. Vol II, p.165.

passing through.[36] Thevenot, who wrote his account of Sind in the 1660s mentions Lahari Bandar, as a great centre of trade providing better harbor for ships, than any other place.[37]

A silver mint was established here by the Mughals.[38] This confirms the presence of official staff of mint, bankers, foreign[39] as well as Indian merchants, governor, administrative officials, artisans, and soldiers, amongst the local population. But during the later half of the seventeenth century, the position of Lahari Bandar and Thatta as great centres of trade, started declining, partially because of the blockening of the port due to salt siltation, and partially due to the loss of Hormuz to the Safawids .Though in 1652, Aūrangzēb tried to replace this port, with that of Kakralah,[40] but to no avail, and the end of the 18th century, the port shifted to Karachi. Thatta also remained the capital city of Sind

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[36] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, pp. 117-18.

[37] Jean de Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* ed. by Surendra Nath Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 75.

[38] Nelson Wright, vol I, pp. LXXXIX, LXXX.

[39] The Portuguese had built a church here and Christian missionary also lived here. See Nicoloi Manucci, *Storia do Mogor,* tr. by William Irwine, as *Mughal India,* Calcutta, 1965, vol I, p. 60.

[40] *E.F.I. 1651-1654,* p. 118.

till the Amīrs built the fortress of Hyderabad, and removed their court thither.[41]

Another very important urban centre of Sind, was the transitional principality of Northern Sind 1555-74, an offshoot of the Arghun State, which for nearly two decades maintained an autonomous existence by balancing itself between Safawid Empire and the Mughals, and between the Tarkhāns of Thatta, and the Mughal court. Its capital was Bhakkar, a rocky island, with the archipelago of rock of Gibralter, lat. $31^{0}$ $37^{1,}$ long $71^{0}$ $4^{1}$ on the Indus between Sukkur and Rohri. It had an ideal situation for a secure fort; not only it commanded the route between Sind and the Punjab, but could also serve as a secure post for meeting any invasion from the north-west down the Bolan pas. For these reasons, it was frequently mentioned in Sultanate, and Mughal chronicles. It was sometimes mentioned as Beghrur[42] and Bakar.[43]

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[41] Henry Pottinger, p. 351.

[42] Al Balaḍhūri, *Fūtūh-i-Buldān*, tr. by Elliot and Dowson as, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, Allahabad, n.d. vol I, p. 122.

[43] Alāuddin At'a Malik Jūwaīni, *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gūshā*, tr. J.A. Boyle, *A history of the world conqueror,* Manchestor, 1958, vol II, p. 414. It states, "Qubāchā fled to Akar and Bakar, two forts on an island."

The birth of this island was caused by and incidental change in the eastern branch Hakrah[44] of Indus, which caused the desertion of an old town Alor, and the birth of Bhakkar, Sukkur and Rohri. It seems that Bhakkar existed before Sukkur, as it was known as Sukkur *qadīm*[45], and also as Mansurah.[46] Sukkur was situated to its north, while Rohri was situated towards south[47]. Rohri or Alor was the capital city of Sind in the period when Arab army invaded Sind (712-714A.D.). According to *Chachnāma*, "the town of Alor was the capital city of Hind and Sind. It was adorned with various kinds of royal buildings, villas, gardens, fountains, streams, meadows, and trees, and was situated on the bank of river called Mihran (ancient name of river Indus)."[48]

Bhakkar had a very strong fort, which was reconstructed by Shāh Beg Arghun, using the bricks from the Alor fort, and from the houses

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[44] H.T. Lambrick, *Sind- A general introduction*, p. p. 172-196. River Hakrah is mentioned as Wahind and Wahan by Ṭāhīr Muḥammad Nisyāni. See *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 25. Mīr Ṭāhīr narrates an interesting folklore behind this shift in river course.

[45] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p.b.

[46] *Ā'īn*, vol II, p.160.

[47] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 74. While Manucci places their location as in east and west. See *Storia do Mogor*, vol I, p. 310.

[48] *Chachnāma* (tr.), p. 11.

of Turks and Sammah people in the suburb of Bhakkar.[49] The fort was oval in shape measuring 800x300 yards and was made of burnt bricks.[50] During the flight of Hūmayūn, he wished to stay in the fort but considering the importance of the fort, Sultān Maḥmūd Kokaltāsh (who was made in charge of the fort by Shāh Beg Arghun) declined the offer.[51] He had added an outer enveloping wall to the fort and constructed two gardens inside the fort; namely Nazrgah and Guzrgah.[52] After Bhakkar came under Mughal Sway, a number of buildings were added to the town.[53]

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[49] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 124; *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 5. Earlier Jām Nizāmuddīn of Sammah dynasty had left this fort under the custody of his slave Dilshād after filling the fort with all kind of provisions. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 73.

[50] A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara and a voyage on the Indus*, vol II, pp. 270-271. While according to Manucci "the fortress was nine hundred and seventy five pace long, and five hundred and fifty three broad." Niccoloi Manucci, vol I, p. 310.

[51] In its place he offered Chachgan in southern Sind to Hūmayūn. *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, p. 170.

[52] Henry Cousens, p. 144.

[53] Mīr Qāsim Khān Namkīn had constructed a quadrangular platform with minarets and called it *Suffah-i-Safa*, while Mīr Ma'sūm, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, had constructed a green dome *sitāsar*, and a ship like mosque on top of the hill. See *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, pp. 3, 4. Mīr Ma'sūm had also constructed a minaret at Sukkur. Henry Cousens, p.151; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*,vol III, p. 77; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol I, pp.198, 199.

To the west of the fort situated another hillock known as Sadh Bela which was an abode of *baniyās* of Hindu caste.[54] Since Bhakkar was located on important strategic point, its economic importance was also significant. Even prior to Thatta and Lahari Bandar, a Mughal silver mint was established in Bhakkar in the year 1574 A.D.[55] Bankers were present here as Bills of exchange (*hūndis*) were very popular in Thatta and Bhakkar, most probably due to security reasons. These bills were generally drawn on Ahmadabad.[56] The presence of Multani merchants are also recorded.[57] Very good quality of swords were also manufactured here, which were in great demand,[58]besides its textiles. It commanded inland trade route to Qandahar, and also towards Jaiselmer

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[54] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 4. For the hold of *baniyā* caste see Richard F. Burton, *Sindh, and the races that inhabit the valley of Indus*, London 1851, reprint, N. Delhi 1992. Burton calls it "pure forest", while East wick calls it "island of seven virtuous Damsels." Eastwick, *A Glance at Sind before Napier/Dry leaves from young Egypt*, p. 39.

[55] R. B. Whiteland, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, oxford, 1914, vol II, p. 39.

[56] *E.F.I.1634-16360*, p. 131; *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 101.

[57] Manucci, vol I, p. 427. These merchants of Khatrī community are mentioned even in East India Company records. H.T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, pp. 103-104.

[58] Henry Cousens, p.p. 143,144.

and Uchch; besides supplying camels on lease to those going towards Jaiselmer, Qandahar and Multan.[59]

Thus it seems that Bhakkar's population was generally composed of Mughal officials, merchants, bankers, scholars, artisans and soldiers, men of learning, and renowned scholars were living in large number ever since the days of Arghuns.[60] There used to be a great annual fair on this island, because of the shrine of Khwāja Khiẓr, attended by both Hindus and Muslims, but after the two having quarreled, the Hindus got themselves established at Sukkur.[61] Here also men of learning came and settled down.[62] Rohri, which is also adjacent to Bhakkar, stands on a hill, opposite of the river from Sukkur; and came into being during Mughal period.[63] Here are some mosque buildings which date back to sixteen, seventeen and early eighteen century. Its population mostly

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[59] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 5.

[60] Ansar Zahid khan, *History and Culture of Sind*, p. 262.

[61] Henry Cousens, p. 148.

[62] Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī got settled in Sukkur, and so also Shāh Khairūddin, who had spent his youth in religious studies at Baghadd, visited Mecca and Madina, then he got settled at Sukkur as a religious teacher. Henry Cousens, p.p, 153,154.

[63] When seventeen hundred families of Sayyids deserted the fort of Bhakkar during the siege, and migrated towards Lohri hills and established a new town called Rohri. Henry cousens, pp, 155,156.

included merchants who dealt in merchandize viz cotton cloth, indigo etc.[64]

Another very important city of Mughal Sind was Sehwan, which is situated on the bank of river in lower valley, especially in the western valley section of Sind, to the east of Manchur lake.[65] Although Indus had changed its course many times, but from Sehwan its movements became very limited. The hills in Sehwan were mainly the abode of nomads. Lakki mountains, which originates from seacoast and ends at Sehwan, was inhabited by the Kalimati Baloch tribe. Another range is Kirthar, which runs from Sehwan to Siwi, and was an abode of Nuhmardi tribe.[66] It is also famous for its excessive heat which records $126^{0}$f ($52.2^{0}$c).[67]

It was called by different names in Mughal Chronicles as Siwistan (Sehwan), while Cunningham mentions its old name as Sadustan.[68] With the establishment of Mughal rule in Sind, *sarkār*

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[64] *Ibid.* p. 158.

[65] O. H. K. Spate and A. T. A. learnmonth, p. 504.

[66] *Ā'īn*, vol II, p. 165.

[67] O. H .K. Spate and A. T. A. Learnmonth, p. 588.

[68] Alexander Cunninghan, *The ancient Geography of India*, ed. S.M. Mojumdar, Calcutta, 1924. p. 302.

Sehwan was taken direct administration.[69] This was probably due to its important strategic location as a gate to Lower Sind, which is why Abdūr Raḥim Khān-i-Khānān tried to secure it first before going towards Thatta.[70] But towards the second half of the seventeenth century (sometimes before 1656AD) Sehwan was transferred from Thatta to Multan *ṣūba*;[71] when it appears on a revenue list under Multan and not under Thatta.

The fort of Sehwan was located on the north side, while population lived on the southern side.[72] It was called *qīla-i-kāfir* by the locals, mud built, measuring approximately 400 X 200 yards, and about 60 feet high.[73] Since it was nomad infested area, therefore to ensure its security, Mirza Yūsūf, brother of Ahmad Beg Khān the *jāgārdār* of Sehwan, ordered a wall to be constructed around the city.[74]

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[69] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 91.

[70] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 252.

[71] *Dastūr-i-'Amāl-i-'Alamgiri* vide irfan Habib, *An Atlas*, p. 13, sheet 5-A. *Chāhar Gulshan* mentions *sarkār* Sehwan of *ṣūba* Multan, with 21 *maḥals*, 347 *mauẓas* and with a revenue of 1, 26, 29, 600 *dāms*. J. N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p.130.

[72] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 57.

[73] Henry Cousens, pp. 138, 139. Even Yūsūf Mirāk had mentioned this fort as old and dilapidated. *Mazhar-i- Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, p.57.

[74] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhāni*, vol II, p. 158.

It was also a great centre of trade. Its excellent cotton textiles were in great demand,[75] nearly once thousand families of weavers used to live here.[76] The maximum production of indigo in Sind, used to be in Sehwan, amounting to 2000 maunds per year.[77] Other cash crops that this town produces were tobacco and cotton.[78]

The trade was carried through river rine traffic, in boats[79] and barter trade was generally in vogue in this town. The nomads of Nuhmardi tribe, visited regularly the town of Sehwan, comprising 4,000 to 5,000 camels, and traded mountain products for grain, arms etc.[80]

Its population comprised Mughal officials, merchants, scholars, *sufis*, singers, weavers, boatmen, washermen and soldiers. People of all the religion had freedom to celebrate their festivals. *Urs* and *Shivratri*

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75 Irfan Habib, '*Indian textile industry in the seventeenth century*,' Essays in the honour of prof S.C. Sarkar, section III , New Delhi, 1976, p. 187.

76 *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, pp. 128,129.

77 *Ibid* p. 129.

78 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 183, 184, 185.

79 *Ibid*, pp. 156-57. Between Bhakkar and Sehwan, to the eastern side is Khyrpur river, which is navigated by the light boats during rainy season. See Henry Pottinger, p. 35.

80 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 111, 239.

were celebrated with same zeal and grandeur.[81] This town was also famous for the shrine of famous Lal Shāh Baz Qalandar, which existed to the extreme south of the city[82], who was worshipped both by the Hindus and the Muslims equally.

Another important trading centre and town was Nasarpur. It was one of the four *sarkārs* of *ṣūba* Thatta,[83] and was situated on the river Sankara.[84] The size of the town was as big as Thatta;[85]during the Arghun period also, it was one of the important six *sarkārs*.[86] The city was founded by Amīr Naṣr, an officer of Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughlaq;[87] but the buildings were mainly added by the Tarkhāns.[88]

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[81] *Ibid.* p. 59.

[82] *Ibid*, p. 57. Saints' real name was Shaīkh Usmān Manwandi, who came to Sehwan and spent the rest of his life here. He died in the year 1274A.D. Henry Cousens, p. 139.

[83] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 33.

[84] It was change in this branch of river westward towards Hyderabad (old Nairun), which led to the prosperity of the new town, and the decay of old. See Henry Cousens, p. 167; M.R. Haig, *the Indus Delta country*, p.4. The name Sankara was applied to the western branch of eastern Nara. *See An Atlas*, p. 15. Sheet 5 B.

[85] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, pp. 128, 129.

[86] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 2.

[87] Henry Cousens, p. 147. It was here that the coronation of Shāh Husaīn Arghun took place. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 126, 127.

[88] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, pp. 45, 50.

The town became one of the important centres of textile industry whose weavers along with Thatta numbered three thousand.[89] The textiles were exported largely to Cango, Basra, Persia and Turkey market.[90] An English factory was also established here, along with a subordinate to the chief factor;[91] which shows the economic importance of this town which it retained till river Sankara deserted it.

Besides these, there were other important towns, which were either trade centres or military centres, like Darbela, Kandiaro, Halahkandi, Sann and Bubeca noted for their excellent textile and indigo production;[92] while Mathila (to the NE of Bhakkar) was noted for its important military fortification.

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[89] *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* pp. 128, 129.

[90] *Ibid*, p. 130.

[91] *Ibid*, p. 132. Niccoloi Manucci, vol I, p. 60. Also see Manrique, vol II, p. 233.

[92] *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, p. 136; *E.F.I.1642-1645*, pp. 136, 137, 163.

# CHAPTER 6
# URBAN ECONOMY

## 6.1: Trade and Commerce: Major Export and Import Items

Situated on the lower side of river Indus, Thatta had been an important trading centre, with its port Lahari Bandar on the bank of western branch of river Indus, Baggaur. Ibn Battūta in the 14th Century, had found it to be a fine town on the sea coast, possessing a large harbor, visited by merchants from Yemen, Persia, and other countries.[1] Its possession was so important that Akbar took it under direct administration (*khālisa*).[2] During Shāhjahān's reign, it was said that it could accommodate 1000 ships at a time.[3] Ships of up to 200 and 300 tons burden called here.[4] It took almost three day to reach Thatta from here.[5] Larger vessels and ships used to anchor at Lahari Bandar and after unloading the cargo, the merchandize were brought

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[1] Ibn Battuta, *Al-Rahela* (tr), vol III, pp. 599 n , 602.

[2] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p .91.

[3] Inayat Khān, *Shāhjahānāma* (tr.) p. 212. Instead of Lahari Bandar, Inayat Khān has mentioned Thatta as a port.

[4] Alexander Hamilton, *The New Account of East Indies*, vol I, p. 114.

[5] *Ibid*

to Thatta in Small boats up the river,[6] and by the land on packed animals. Whenever any ship entered the port, a gun was fired to inform the local merchants and inhabitants of the town, of its arrivals. They used to approach the ship in small boats (*g͟hūrabs*) to negotiate terms. If the ship did not belong to the port, it was not allowed to anchor inside the channel, but had to anchor in the roadstead off the coast. From there, its cargo was transferred to small boats and sent on to the city (Thatta.)[7]

The major items exported from here were textile, indigo, leather, saltpeter, butter and ivory products to Congo, Basra, Persia, Masqat, Hormuz, Portugal. The textiles of Sind were in great demand, which were mainly used for trading purpose rather than home consumption. Thatta, Nasarpur, Sehwan, Kandiaro and Darbela were the main centres of cotton textiles,[8] especially Thatta and Nasarpur, where three thousand families of weavers used to live, whereas

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[6] Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie* (tr), pp. 31, 32.

[7] *Tārīk͟h-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 144.

[8] Irfan Habib, *'Indian textile Industry in the Seventeenth Century.'* p. 187.In Kur, Zamin and Chhatar, dependencies of Siwi, the cotton plant measure up to a jujube tree in height and people used to pluck cotton on horse back. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.25.

Sehwan accommodated one thousand families of weavers.[9] Most of the weavers used to weave checkered alegias (silk cloth), which was exported mainly to the Persian and Turkey market.[10] A large quantity of these clothes was sent to the port of Congo and Basra by the merchants of Thatta.[11]

Another type of Sindhi textiles were *joorie* (striped), *jamawars, cudburges*, *cambooles* (mixture of silk and wool), *dustars, armeniaes, duster gullames, cannikins*, *alaboolaes* or red *joories, semavars* (wrought silk cloth) and a coarse sort of *ginghams* called *seriaes* (made of double thread) was also manufactured here.[12] The *joories* and *chhints* manufactured here were very soft, and used mainly for bed covers;[13] of these *comboolies* (wool+silk), and *alachas* (cotton+silk), *cuttanee* (cotton+silk), were mainly exported to

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9 *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* pp. 128, 129. While mentioning plague of 1680s in Sind, Alexander Hamilton recorded death of 80,000 cotton and silks manufacturers in Thatta. Alexander Hamilton, *op cit*, vol I, p.122.

10 *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* p. 130.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid,* pp. 130, 133.

13 Alexandar Hamilton, *op. cit.* vol, I p. 125.

13 *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* p. 130.

Portugal, where its demand was much higher.[14] Not only this, but embroided calico and silk were also demanded by the English for export to Europe.[15]

While comparing cotton textile of Sind with that of Gujarat calicoes, Palsaert gives weightage to Sindhi calicoes; despite the fact that Gujarat textile was higher in price.[16] Its demand was so much that the English had invested rupees seventeen thousand alone in Thatta calicoes with a total quantity from 5000 pieces to 20,000 at a time.[17] Thatta alone had two thousand looms, whose woven cloth was very fine and exported largely, while silken *taffeta* and *taffseales* were praised highly.[18] It seems that *joories* were liked most by the English, due to which English factors were ordered to sent 2000 pieces of *joories* per year to England;[19] but due to weavers' engagement in other types, European merchants had to buy it from other centres as

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[14] John Irwin and P.R. Schwartz, *Studies in Indian- European textile*, Ahmedabad, 1966, p. 24

[15] *Ibid*, p. 19.

[16] *E.F.I.1637-1641*, p. 312

[17] Pelsaert *op. cit*. p. 32

[18] Fray Sebastein Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastein Manrique* (1629-1643) tr. by Lt. Col. C. Eckford Ward, London, 1926, vol II, pp. 238-239.

[19] *E.F.I. 1637-1642*, p. 312. *Joorie* was 432 inches in length and 27 inches in width; *E.F.I. 1634-1634*, p. 130.

well to fulfill their demand.[20] But still, five thousand to twenty thousand *joorie* pieces were bought every year by the English merchants.[21] Cloth was also dyed and printed [block printed]. Shah Abdul Latif in his poetry refers to the hand printing of bed sheets.[22]

The textile industry of Sind had passed many ups and down, which can be seen in its price fluctuation. English factory records reports about the increase prices of piece goods, owing to large investment for Basra;[23] and it was hoped that price will again fall, so that supply to England can be enhance to meet demand at home. Again in 1656, prices rose at Nasarpur (*ṣūba* Thatta) as large quantities were sent to Basra by Thatta merchants.[24] One main reason behind the increasing demand of Sind textile was a terrible famine of Gujarat in 1630 A.D, which mainly affected the weavers, washers and dyers of Broach, hence attention of the buyers turned towards Sind as a substitute. Thus, rising demand also led to speedy and expanded production, leading ultimately to the fall in quality. Because of this in

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[20] *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* p.130

[21] *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, p. 312; *E.F.I. 1651-1654*, pp. 129, 130.

[22] S.M. Jhangiani, *Shah Abdul Latif and his times 1690-1751*, p.155. For printing cloth *punhu* (wooden stamp) was used.

[23] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p. 163. This rise in price was reported in March, 1644 A.D.

[24] *E.F.I. 1656-1660*, p. 80.

the second half of the seventeenth century, the English factors reported about the deteriorating quality of cloth,[25]perhaps the weavers could not cope up with the quantity and quality simultaneously. To solve this problem, English buyers had asked Nasarpur weavers to alter their looms in the year 1647, and instead of weaving cloth of 600 yarns in a warp, they were asked to use 700 yarn.[26] But the increasing fall in quality led to decreasing demand of Sindhi textile.

Another industry which flourished in Sind and attracted European merchants was indigo.[27] Indigo was mainly used for dying clothes, and, this was one of the main agricultural produce of *ṣūba* Thatta, grown especially in Sehwan, but it was not that good as of Bayana and Sarkhej, yet it was exported to Basra and England.[28] Producers of Sehwan were mainly depended on Thatta dyers, because they were their chief customers and main exporters also. These dyers used to pay 41½ rupees per *maund*, and rupees 3 were taken as extra

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[25] *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, p. 312; *E.F.I. 1651-1654*, pp. 129, 130; *E.F.I. 1655-1660*, p. 81.

[26] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, pp. 227-232.

[27] The English were granted permission for indigo trade with Sind through a *nishān* of Dāra Shikōh in 1644 A.D., who was the then Governor of Thatta, and John Spiller was the Chief factor of Thatta factory. D. pant, *The commercial policy of Mughals*, reprint, Delhi, 1978, p. 196.

[28] *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, p. 277.

charges.[29] In total, they were paying 44½ rupees for per *maund* indigo, while indigo seller at Thatta used to buy indigo from Bubeca and Sann for rupees 21 or 22per *maund*, with the condition that they could not buy less than 100 *maunds* at a time.[30] There are reports that show that cost of indigo was cheaper at Sehwan than at Thatta,[31] yet the Thatta dyers were not at loss because weight differs at both the places. In Sehwan *man-i-Jahāngīrī* was prevalent [which was lb 33.19] while Thatta had a use of *man-i-Shāhjahānī* [lb36.88].[32] Finally the English factor at Thatta had fixed its price to rupees 40 a *maund*.[33] Indigo which was found in Sind was obtained from two wild species of *Indigofera* i.e. *Lordifolia, Heyne,* and *Paucifolia, Delisle,* but the cultivated plant was *Tincltoria*.[34] It was mainly consumed by dyers. The process of dyeing a cloth, required to first dip into mordant of glum, gum and fullers earth, and then it was dyed into colour of choice. Portuguese and other merchants of the city bought cloth, and used to dye it in deep blue

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[29] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p. 203

[30] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, pp.136, 137.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian system of Mughal India*, 1556-1707 A.D, pp. 374, 376 . lists of weights is given in Appendix 'B'

[33] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p. 203.

[34] George Wat,t *A Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Calcutta, 1890, vol IV, p. 410.

for export to Basra.[35] Indigo dyed cloths were very wide; it was either *bafftas* or *chhints*.

Thus indigo cultivation in Sind had two main markets, firstly at home, and secondary at foreign land, mainly in England, Hormuz, Italy and Turkey. From time to time, the English merchants had reported indigo as dear commodity, whose cultivation was limited due to scarcity of means, and cultivators were also resistant to grow this crop.[36] Thus adulteration was great, and at the time of sell, sand was mix within it.[37] Yet its production in Sind had the fourth highest rate of revenue payment ie. 35 *tankā murādī* per annum.[38] Its maximum production was in the *sarkār* of Sehwan, amounting to 2000 *maunds* per year.[39] But lately the English records show the scarcity, that by the second half of the seventeenth century, the total production of indigo in Sind, was not more than 800 *maunds*.[40] In quality, albeit it remained inferior to Sarkhej, but the produce of Muda Nar in *pargana*

[35] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 243.

[36] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p. 203. The cultivations were hesitant as it affected the productivity of soil.

[37] D. Pant, *op. cit.* p. 196.

[38] *Dastūrs* given in *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* mentions its rate as forth highest. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 183-4.

[39] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 129.

[40] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p.203

Haweli Sehwan, was superior to Bayana indigo.[41] But with the opening of indigo trading with West Indies by the English, West Indies became the main supplier, and Indian indigo trade suffered out of it.[42] Except indigo, another thing which was used for dyeing was fawn or *Masseidt,* which gives red colour. This was imported from Iran through the Isfahani merchants.[43]

The third major export from Sind was leather. This region abounded in cattle especially buffaloes, which resulted in a great export of their hides through ships. Sindhi manufacture a very fine quality of leather, which Portuguese styled as Sindhi leather, mainly exported to Arab and Persia.[44] It was not a plain preparation, rather decorated with black stitch work, and fringes of silk at the corners; horse trappings, stitched quilts and excellent mattresses called Sindhi mattresses were the main items.[45] Linschoten says "They were

[41] Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sind,* p. 160.

[42] The total input of indigo in the year 1782, into England was lb 64,309 from West-Indies, while entire Asian export was only lb 25,535. George Watt, *op cit,* p. 461.

[43] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 32.

[44] Fray Sebastein Manrique, *op. cit.* vol II, p. 239n.

[45] *Ibid,* vol II, pp. 234, 238.

excellent leather, cunningly wrought with silk of all colours, both flowers and personages."[46]

Other items which were included in the list of export items were wheat and Ghee for Masqat,[47]wine for England,[48] locally manufactured desks, draught boards, writing cases, inlaid with ivory and ebony, exported in large quantity to Goa and other coastal towns.[49] Saltpetre, which was of a fine quality, and exported mainly to England, priced rupees 6 per *maund*,[50] and in one time 50 tones of saltpetre was sent.[51] One more commodity chiefly exported to China, was the wood *ligna dulics*, grown at Sind. Its root was called *Pitchock* or *Radix dulics*, served as a main ingredient in making perfumes. It was exported to Surat and from there sent to China, where it fetched a very good price.[52] Besides it, asafoetida to England,[53] and a sweet flavored fish

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[46] *Ibid*, p. 239n

[47] Niccolo Manucci, *Storia do mogor 1653-1708*, tr. Willian Irwine, first pub. 1907-1908, reprint Delhi 1990, vol II, p. 401.

[48] *E.F.I. 1656-1660*, p. 333.

[49] Pelsaert, *op. cit.* p.32.

[50] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 130, *E.F.I. 1661-1664* , p. 108; Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 12; according to *Ā'īn*, "in Thatta Saltpetre was found in abundance." *Ā'īn*, vol II , p.165. List of prices of different commodities is provided in the Appendix.A.

[51] *E.F.I. 1656-1660*, p. 310.

[52] Alexander Hamilton,. *op. cit.* vol I, p. 126.

called *pala*, was also exported to England after making it dry[54], and its oil was used mainly in ship building.[55]

As far as import is concerned, Sind mainly imported precious metals like silver and gold from outside world, and commodities for daily consumption were chiefly imported from other cities of India. This inter-regional, and intra- regional trade was generally of barter nature. As Sind imported sugar, sugar candy, *naushader,* ginger from Lahore, in exchange for pepper, tin, lead, spices, broad clothes, dates, coker milts.[56] It also imported tobacco from Gujarat.[57] From outside India specially from Arab and Persia, dates, horses, seed pearls, pearls, incense, gem mastic, senna leaves, and Jew's stones, were imported, in exchange for white and black sugar, butter, silver oil and cocos,[58]

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[53] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 191.

[54] Jadunata Sarkar, *The India of Aurangzeb*, p. IXXII; Durate Barbosa, *An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and, their inhabitants*, London, 1918, vol I, pp 189, 223. According to *Ā'īn*, "*pala* fish is found in abundance in *sarkār* Thatta." *Ā'īn,* vol II, p. 165.

[55] *Ibid*

[56] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 244. Lead was imported into Sind from England. *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p. 85.

[57] *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 60.

[58] Manucci, *op. cit.* vol I, p. 58

As far as import items from Europe are concerned; in exchange for *bafta* and cotton textiles Sind mainly imported precious metals and spices, and especially silver. Between1586-1590, Portuguese exported 50-45 metric tons of silver to Sind and Gujarat.[59] Sind also imported silver from Middle East by overseas route.[60] Silver and gold coins especially *Lari, Reales of eight, Abbasis, gold ducats* were also imported from Asia and Europe.[61]

During the latter half of the seventeenth century Sind witnessed a decline in trade and its reflection can be seen in stagnation of money circulation, due to decline in mint production. Clearly the long them trend could have had little to do with such local problems, as the blockening of Lahari Bandar by sand banks[62] ,or the final seizure of Qandahar by the Safawids in 1648-49 ,leading to fell of Hormuz; though these were undoubted irritants. The English factors were continuously complaining of the scarcity of rupees and also of

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[59] Najaf Haider, '*Precious metal flows and currency circulation in the Mughal Empire*'. JESHO, London, August 1996, vol 39, pat 3, p. 315

[60] Aziza Hasan, "*Mints of the Mughal Empire: A study in comparative currency output*"; PIHC, Patiala, 1967, part I, Section II, p. 324.

[61] *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, pp. 42, 133; *E.F.I. 1651-1654*, p. 118.

[62] William floor, *The Dutch East India company (VOC) and Deiwel Sind (Pakistan) in 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 23-4.

difficulty in obtaining even previously issued rupees.[63] So, the English found it very difficult to continue trade with Sind.[64] This scarcity became so adverse that a person who wished to make a long distance remittances from Bhakkar, found it very difficult to have it done directly from Bhakkar to Akbarabad (Agra), or Kannauj. This is strongly brought out in letters written by 'Abdu'l Bilgrāmī, an official posted at Bhakkar. In 1708, he explained his son the difficulties in remitting money to Bilgram (near Kannauj), it says "in Bhakkar, there is no banker (*mahājan*) who can draw a *hundawī* on Akbarabad (Agra) or Kannauj. The *hundawī* from here is drawn on Multan; from Multan on Lahore; from Lahore on Akbarabad, and from thence on order for payment in *chalanī* (current rupees) is issued on Kannauj. In such circumstances, one has to get a *hundawī*, written out at four places carefully; ensuring specification of rupee, mintage and year of issue (in which payment is to be made)." He, therefore, advised his son to try to have a reverse *hundawī* (*hundawī-i-jawābī*) discounted by a *mahājan*, drawn upon him at Bhakkar, so that presumably all the successive stages would be managed by *mahājans* discounting it at

[63] *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, pp. 73, 101, 102.

[64] *Ibid*

each stage.[65] Clearly none of the great bankers at Agra or Delhi, cared to have agents or correspondents at Bhakkar or even Multan, and this would only be when the trade between upper Sind and the core of Mughal Empire, was not a scale sufficient enough to provide for the profitable establishment of a direct credit and exchange mechanism.

The conquest of Sind by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in the year 1591-1592 A.D. led to the establishment of Imperial mints in that region, and thereby unifying the monetary system of Sind with the rest of the Mughal Empire. Bhakkar in northern Sind had been annexed to Akbar's dominions earlier in 1574; and in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Abu'l Fazl has mentioned the name of Bhakkar amongst the list of twenty-eight towns, where only copper coins were struck.[66] After the annexation of whole of Sind eighteen years later, imperial mints were also established, at Thatta, and at Lahari Bandar, which were exclusively silver mints.

[65] *'Abdūl Jalīl Bilgrāmī's letters, Persian text on even and translation on odd pages, Oriental Miscellany,* Calcutta, I 1978, p. 156. See also pp. 274, 276, 278, 282.

[66] *Ā'īn*, vol I, p.19. But Lahore Museum has a specimen of a silver coin dated 1585-1586 A.D.1985 A.H., issued from the Bhakkar mint. *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore; R .B. Whiteland, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*,, vol .II, p.39.

Under the previous rulers of the Arghun and Tarkhān dynasties, the rulers did not seem for a long time to have minted their own coins. Foreign coinage like Persian *lāri*[67]and Portuguese *'Xeraphin' or Ashrafī [Begī]* were apparently used[68] for transactions. The use of *lārīs* was obviously the result of Sind's regular trade with Hormuz. It was only the Tarkhān rulers who issued copper coins of very small denomination. First there was the *'Isai,* which was issued by 'Isa Khān Tarkhān I (1565-66).[69] *The mīrī, a copper* coin, also called *postāni*, was also issued during the reign of Jānī Beg Tarkhān 1584-1599. There was another larger coin called the *kabar.*[70] Ṭāhir Muḥammad Nisyānī, in Jahāngīr's time has recorded the exchange value of these coins as *1 kābar = 12 mīrīs, 72 mīrīs (or 6 kābars) = 1 tankā, 24 tankā-murādī = 1 rupee.*[71] Thus one silver Mughal rupee

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[67] The frequent use of *Lārī* in Sind can be judged by the fact that when in 1558-59, Sultān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar laid siege to Sitpur [on Punj-nad], south-west of Multan, to punish the rebel Nāhar Khān. Nāhar Khān offered 4 lakh *lārīs* to Sultān Maḥmūd in order to ward off the danger. *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp. 221-232. The important of *lari* continued even during the Mughal Period, but at that time, they were restruck.

[68] *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p.183

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[70] *Ibid,* p .183.

[71] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 185.

was equal to 1,728 *mīrīs* and 144 *kābars*.[72] It is not clear whether by *tankā murādī*, Ṭāhir means the double-*dām* of Akbar or the earlier bullion *tankā* of the Lodis. With the full imposition of Mughal authority over Sind, the right of minting the coins was taken from the Tarkhān, Imperial mints were established at Thatta and Lahari Bandar, besides Bhakkar.[73] The silver rupee and copper *dām* were now sought to be established standard currency. None of the contemporary sources on Sind contains any account of the administration of these mints, yet it may be presumed that these functioned according to the imperial rules and regulations; a regular staff of *Darōgha, Sarrāf, Amīn, Mushrif, Gārgīr* [Treasurer] *Tarāzūkāsh* [weighman], *Garazgir-i-Khām* [Melter of the ore], and *warāq-kāsh* [the plate maker], as prescribed in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*.[74] As the Mughal system was one of open or 'free' coinage, any individual

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[72] *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, p. 183.

[73] The Bhakkar Mint was probably established after the year 1574-1575, when Gēsū Khān occupied Bhakkar or behalf of Akbar. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 235, 236. See also *catalogue of the coins in Indian Museum*, Calcutta; Nelson Wright, *Mughal Emperors of India*, Oxford , 1908, vol I, p.xxxv. Mints at Thatta and Lahari Bandar were established directly after its conquest in 1591-92 A.D., because the first specimen of square rupee of the *Ilāhi* type belongs to the year 1592-93 A.D. /1001 A.H. Nelson Wright, vol I , pp .lxxix, lxxx.

[74] *Ā'īn*, vol I, pp.10- 12.

could bring the precious metals gold, silver and copper to the mint, and could get the coin struck in the Imperial mint after paying the seigniorage of 5½ percent on the value of the metal.[75] At the Thatta mint, according to a report of mid-1640's, coins were struck only once in a week, and most of the minting was done for the state treasury by *diwān*,[76] which sometimes made the transaction difficult for merchants due to their inability of obtaining the coins at the needed time.[77] However, the mints of Sind issued sufficient amount of currency to claim a noticeable share in the total issue of silver coins of Mughal Empire.[78] As a result, during the seventeenth century, the earlier regional currency of Sind was totally replaced by the silver rupee and copper *tankās* and *dāms*. The land revenue rates, customs, revenue realization (*hāsil*), everything was being recorded either in silver rupee, or in copper *tankā* or *dām*.[79] Our Tables 'A', 'B' and

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[75] Shah Purshah Hurmasji Hodivala, *Historical Studies in the Mughal Numismatics*, Bombay, 1976, vol II, p.131; Foster *E.F.I. 1651-1654*, p.118.

[76] *E.F.I .1646-1650*, p. 101.

[77] *Ibid*, pp.73, 101, 102.

[78] Aziza Hasan, p.324.

[79] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 36, 37, 171, 172, 183, 184. The *jama'* of *pargana* Samwati and *pargana* Halah Kandi of *sarkār* Thatta is stated as 4 million *dāms*, and 2 million *dāms* respectively; while the custom duty on indigo is recorded as 3 rupees per *man*, tobacco 7 *dams* per *man* ,and sold for 8 *tankas*.

'C'[80] bring out some long term shifts in Sind's mint production. It was because of the steady mint production that the *rupīyah* and *dām* or *tankā* totally replaced the regional currency, while at the same time obtaining a rising share in the total north Indian mint output of Mughal Empire.

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[80] These tables are based totally on Museum's Collections and U.P. Hoard reports, *Catalogue of Coins in the Central Museum* Nagpur; V.P. Rode, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, Bombay, 1969 Part I; *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* Calcutta; H. Nelson Wright, *Mughal Emperors of India*, vol; *Catalogue* of *Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore; R. B. Whiteland, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors,* Oxford, 1914, Part II; *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum* Lucknow; C. J. Brown, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, Oxford, 1920, 2 vols; Stanley Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum,* ed. Reginard Strart Poole,London, 1892; C.R. Singhal, *Supplementary Catalogue* of *Mughal Coins in the State Museum,* Lucknow, 1965; A.K. Srivastava, *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh, State Museum*, Lucknow, 1980, Vol.I.

## TABLE A

## RUPEES FROM THATTA MINT 1591-1708

| Years | Number of coins (Museum collection) | Number of Coins (U.P.Hoards) |
|---|---|---|
| 1591-1592 to 1603-1604 | 155 | 165 |
| 1606-1607 to 1627-1628 | 136 | 95 |
| 1628-1629 to 1657-1658 | 148 | 151 |
| 1659-1660 to 1707-1708 | 99 | 45 |
| Total | 538 | 456 |

## TABLE B

## RUPEES FROM BHAKKAR MINT, 1575-1684

| Year | Number of coins (Museum collections) | Number of Coins (U.P.Hoards) |
|---|---|---|
| 1575-1576 to 1576-1577 | 4 | 3 |
| 1630-1631 to 1651-1658 | 49 | 36 |
| 1660-1661 to 1683-1684 | 13 | 44 |
| Total | 66 | 83 |

## TABLE C

## RUPEES FROM LAHARI BANDAR MINT, 1595-96

| Years | Number of coins (Museum collections) | Number of Coins (U.P.Hoards) |
|---|---|---|
| 1595-1596 to 1598-1599 | 3 | 2 |
| Total | 3 | 2 |

During the seventeenth century Thatta had *hundīs* (bills of exchange) drawn upon it from Ahmedabad, and vice-versa with a common discount of 1 1/4 and 1 percent.[81] Lack of safety on the route

[81] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 131. In this letter of December 18th, 1635, the English factor has mentioned that the bills of exchange issued from Thatta for Ahmadabad are generally for sixty days, and these days encashment of bills at Ahmadabad entitled to a loss of one percent. See also *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, pp. 60-61. Here the factor records the promise of Shah Bandar to the English, regarding payment on bills of exchange.

through Cutch could be one reason for resort to such bills.[82] Merchants did not want to take the risk of carrying coins.[83] In the years between 1586- 1590, Portuguese exported 50.45 metric tons of silver to Sind and Gujarat.[84] Sind, therefore, drew to itself especially *lārī, Reales of eight*, *Abbāsis* and gold *Ducats*.[85] These were melted and re-minted as rupees in the imperial mint.[86] It was because of this influx of silver during the 17th century, that the output of Thatta mint was highest in the decade 1598-1636, when it contributed 21.8% of the total number of coins issued in entire North India.[87] Even, the output of Bhakkar mint was also much higher during these decades, though not single specimen of Jahāngīr's reign is found from Bhakkar mint. But in the same period i.e. between 1607-1616, the output of Qandahar mint was the highest counting by decades, being 13.9 percent of total North

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[82] N. Withington, pp. 190, 213, 214.

[83] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 131.

[84] Najaf Haidar, *op. cit.*, p.315.

[85] *E.F.I. 1637-1641*, pp. 42, 133; *E.F.I. 1651-1654*, p. 118. The exchange value of these foreign currencies is as follows; 1 *abbāsī* = 100 rupees, 1 *venetion sequin or ducat* = 12 3/8 rupees, 100 *reales of eight* = 205 1/2 rupees, and 112 totals of silver in bullion = 100 rupees. *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 134.

[86] *E.F.I. 1651-1654*, p. 118.

[87] Aziza Hasan, *op. cit.* p. 324.

Indian output.[88] One may infer that when Qandahar was under Mughal control, as it was during the larger part of Jahāngīr's reign the silver coin and bullion received overland from Iran coined there; when it went out of Mughal hands, it was the Bhakkar mint which performed the same function. Thus during ShāhJahān's reign Bhakkar mint again became very active, and total number of silver coins reported from it between 1630-1631, 1651-1658 numbered 85.[89] But with the decline of trade of Sind in the later half of the seventeenth century the credit and exchange mechanism also suffered out of it.[90]

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[88] *Ibid*, pp. 334, 335.

[89] See table B.

[90] William Floor, *The Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Diewal Sind (Pakistan) in 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 23, 24

## APPENDIX-A

### Prices of Different Commodities as Recorded by the English Factories

| date | commodity | price | weight | place | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEC 4,1635 | Hen<br>Sheep | 4 Pice<br>1 Rupee | Per Hen<br>Per Sheep | Lahari<br>Bandr | *E.F.I., 1634-1636*, p.124 |
| DEC18,1635 | Salt petre | 6 Rupee | Per *maund* | Thatta | *E.F.I., 1634-1636*, p.130 |
| MAY 1ST, 1636 | Indigo | 61 Rupees (actual price but Governor selling for 110 rupees) | ,, | ,, | *E.F.I. 1634-36*, p. 244 |
| MARCH, 1639. | Narrow baftas or joories<br>Oil and butter<br>Sehwan joories<br><br>Bayana indigo<br><br>Sugar candy<br><br>Sugar | 17 to 18 Ru[pees]<br>1 Rup[ee]<br>¾ to 1¼ Rup[ees]<br><br>85Rup[ees]<br><br>15Rup[ees]<br><br>10Rup[ees] | Per cor[ge] 7½ s[ee]r<br>Per piece, 2 covet shorter than Nasarpur [Which is 16-17 great covets] Per *maund* [the great *maund*]<br>Per *maund*<br>" | Darbelah<br><br>Bhakkar<br>Sehwan<br><br>Multan<br><br>"<br><br>" | *E.F.I., 1637-1641*,p.136<br>"<br>"<br><br>" |
| DEC29,1640 | Indigo | 70 Rupees [highrate probably due to failure of crop] | Per double *maund* of Surat [equal to 73½ lb] | Sind | *E.F.I.1637-1641*, p.274 |
| MARCH 26, 1644 | Narrow bafta or joories | 55 Rupees [This time high prices prevailed dueto large | Per double *maund* | Kandiaro+ Darbelah | *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p.163 |

| | | investment for Basra] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOV 28, 1644 | Narrow joories | Price rose 5 to 6 Rupees (inspite of bad quality) but due to large investment for Basra | Per corge | Nasarpur | *E.F.I.1642-1645*, p.203 |
| NOV28,1644 | Indigo | 41½ Rupees besides 3 Rupees custom charge | Per *maund* | Sind (in area around Sehwan) | *E.F.I.1642-1645*, p.203 |
| SEPT8, 1647 | Indigo | Price rose (?)[ due to absconding of dyers] | Per *maund* | San | *E.F.I.1646-1650*, p.151 |
| FEB, 1659 | Cotton goods | Price rose(?) [due to many buyers from Thatta] | Per *maund* | Nasarpur | *E.F.I1656-1660*, p.222 |

## As Recorded in Persian Sources.

| **source** | **commodity** | **weight** | **price** | **place** | **date** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 171-172 | 1. Indigo<br>2. Tobacco<br>3. White Sugar [*Nabat*] | Per *maund*<br>Per *maund*<br>Per *ser* | 20 rupees<br>8 *tankā*<br>10 *murādī tankā* | Sehwan<br>Sehwan<br>Sehwan | Mid17th c.<br>Mid17th c.<br>1615-16 |

# APPENDIX-B

## Weights Prevalent in Sind as Recorded in the Persian Sources, and the English Factory Records of Seventeenth Century

| Weights | Source |
|---|---|
| *1Kharwār =60 kasahs* (assload) | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.182 |
| *1Corwar[kharwār] = 8 Man-i-Jahāngīrī* | *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p.133 |
| *5 Kasah = 30 Jahāngīrī sir* or *1 Kasah = 6 Jahāngīrī sir* | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.145 |
| *1 Kasah = 4 tōyah* | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.182 |
| *1 Toyah = 1½ Jahāngīrī sir* | *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p.145 |
| *Man-i-Jahāngīrī*[91] [Prevalent at Sehwan] | *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* p.133 |
| *Man-i-Shāhjahānī* [Prevalent at Thatta] | *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* p.133 |

[91] Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 429. According to him "The approximate weight of *Man-i-Jahāngīrī* should have been 33.19 lb avdp. (15.07 kg), while that of *Man-i-Shāhjahānī* should have been 36.88 lb. (16.74 kg).

### 6.2: Trading Class and Instruments of Trade in Sind

The overseas trade, indeed appreciate the importance of the individual and the power of the specialized local network within the interlocking mechanism, which kept the trade going; one of such mechanism was the networking of indigenous and foreign merchants in Sind.

Sind's geographical position enabled it to serve as a junction of routes, connecting Western and Central Asia with India on one hand, and European and African countries on the other, which helped to attract attention of merchants within India and outside also. Its sea ports played an important role in breaking its isolation and linking it to far off countries. These promoted the commercial activities and developed its culture, and provided opportunities to assimilate the bits of foreign culture within its fold.

Thatta being the chief port city of Sind was a central place for the foreign merchants to settle in, and to carry on their commercial activities. Ibn Battūta had mentioned its port Lahari Bandar visited by merchants from Yemen, Persia, and other countries,[1] so a brisk traffic went on between Thatta and Lahari Bandar, so much so that Hamilton

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[1] *Al-Rahela* (tr.), vol III, pp. 599n, 602.

records that a place four miles from the port towards Thatta, containing a fort called *Dungbam*. It was used as a *serāi,* and twenty cottages around the building served as a breeding centre of fowls, goats and sheep, supplying the needs of those passing through.[2]

Before the establishment of an English factory here, the Portuguese alone represented the European element.[3] They asserted their monopoly of the trade here, and did not allow any other foreign merchants to come. Sir Robert Sherley, who arrived at Lahari Bandar, somewhere before 1614, was harshly treated by them and even his house was set afire.[4] Consequently the attention was shifted to the neighboring entrepots of Cambay, Surat and Hormuz. In 1623, 54 ships are recorded having called at Hormuz from Gujarat, and Sind ports, of which eight were from the mouth of Indus.[5] Ships from Basra, Gombroon, Hormuz and Masqat used to visit very often, and

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[2] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, pp.117, 118.

[3] Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 32. For the coming of Portuguese and sack of Thatta see *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp. 111,112. While fighting with the imperial forces, war boats were carrying Portuguese, and one of them was chief of the Portuguese settlement of Hormuz, whose name was Charkas Daflir, who used to come yearly from Hormuz to Thatta. (*Tārīkh i-Ṭāhīrī*, p.185)

[4] N. Withington, *Early Travels in India*, p. 212.

[5] Ashin Das and M. N. Pearson, *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, Calcutta, 1987, p. 98.

*cartas* [passes] were issued to them, and to the local merchants by the Portuguese;[6] and the dues from outgoing and incoming vessels was collected by their agents. The main comptroller of the port, *shāhbandar*, often secured the revenue of the port on farming basis (*ijārah*) and, therefore, he was always afraid of the loss of trade and revenues, and, therefore tried to keep the Portuguese in good humor. What they brought to him was estimated at rupees one lakh.[7] In other words in the early years of seventeenth century, the interest of the Portuguese became identical with that of the Mughals. The continuation of this highly advantageous position and their complete monopolization of trade allowed them to have control over the ports of the Mughal Empire, including those of Sind. This control was so deep that the English and the Dutch attempts were deliberately made futile to enter into port.[8] But despite Portuguese attempts, the English succeeded to send a broker from Surat via land route, along the Rann of Cutch to procure some goods from the region of Sind.[9] This land

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[6] *E.F.I.1618-1621*, pp.12, 181; *E.F.I. 1630-1633*, p .207 n.

[7] Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sind*, p. 190; W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, London, 1923, pp. 41, 42.

[8] N. Withington, pp. 188, 233.

[9] *E.F.I. 1630-1633*, p. 35; N. Withington, pp. 188, 233.

route was followed from Gujarat to Cutch, to Badin, and thence to Thatta. But finally with the loss of Hormuz,[10] Portuguese negotiated with the English in 1635 A.D. which was initiated by the English factor Methworld, and this led to the lifting of their monopoly by the Portuguese.[11] Originally three English factories were suggested, one at Thatta, second at Nasarpur and third at Sehwan.[12] To run the administration of these factories, arrangements were made, according to which a chief factor was to be appointed at Thatta, and one subordinate at the other two factories, with one penman, one cashier, one packer, and one keeper of petty customs to be appointed accordingly.[13] English dealt mainly in cotton clothes, indigo and saltpetre;[14] and in return they were bringing largely silver,[15] and

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[10] At the time when Hormuz was under Portuguese, ruler of Houmuz, maintained his factor at Thatta, namely Georges Brown. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 256. This factor named Charkas Daflir helped Mirza Jānī Beg Tarkhān's forces against Mughal forces during siege of Sind in 1591. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, p. 185; *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 253.

[11] W.H. Moreland, *op.cit*, pp. 41, 42. The Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr permitted free trade to the English in this region. *E.F.I. 1613-1615*, p. 309.

[12] *E.F.I. 1634-1636*, p. 132; Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 191.

[13] Niccoloi Manucci, vol I, p. 60 ; Fray Sebastein Manrique, vol II, p. 233 One chief factor who had succeeded Scrievener, was accused of keeping accounts in his hands against the rules. *E.F.I. 1661-1664*, p. 116.

[14] The English were granted permission for indigo trade with Sind through a *nishān* of Dāra Shikōh in 1644 A.D, who was then governor in charge of Thatta, and John

sometimes carried gold also with themselves.[16] It seems that during the initial phase, the administration had adopted a strict policy towards the English, may be because their relation with the native merchants had not been smooth, because once a cargo carrying Sindhi merchants with the *cartas* [issued by the Portuguese to them to trade at the port of Masqat] was looted by the English merchants.[17] To punish them, Governor Āsaf Khān threatened the English to return goods to the Sindhi merchants, or else the matter will be reported to the Emperor Jahāngīr.[18] This cargo was estimated worth rupees 8 million.[19] As a result the English trade with Agra was also checked;

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Spiller was the chief factor of Thatta factory. *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, p. 215; *E.F.I. 1642-1644*, pp. 227, 232. From time to time instructions were issued to the chief factor to maintain a steady supply of these items. See also *E.F.I. 1661-1664*, p. 78.

[15] Aziza Hasan, '*Mints of the Mughal Empire: A study in comparative currency output*', p. 329

[16] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India* tr. by V. Ball, ed. by William Crooke, reprint New Delhi, 1977. p. 10

[17] Āsaf Khān, the then Governor of Thatta had charged English behind this loss. *E.F.I. 1618-1621*, pp. 181,267. While the English had claimed that the Dutch were behind this loss. Om Prakash, *The Dutch factories in India, 1617-1623 A.D*, N. Delhi, 1984, p. 192.

[18] *E.F.I. 1618-1621*, pp. 181, 267.

[19] Om Prakash,*The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623,* p. 192. See also *E.F.I. 1622-1623*, pp. 78, 90, 91.

perhaps the matter was solved because the later records do not show repetition of the incident.

In some ways trade at Lahari Bandar was considered to be freer than at Thatta. The English factors reported in 1636, that at the latter place "the will of the Governors is a law; so that he sets what prices he pleaseth on commodities," while at Lahari Bandar "it is not so, for there the prizes [prices] are known and set down in a rate book not to be innovated or altered at every covetous or unjust Governor's will."[20] The English were so much assured of their profits that the chief factor John Spiller and Scrivener carried their private business as well, in cooperation with local traders, Bumbamal and Navaldas, who had a share in the profits.[21] Earlier the factors' salaries were low i.e. £ 50 per annum, but even after an increase in their salaries, their private trade continued.[22] Āsaf Khān remitted half of the custom duties for the English merchants in Lahari Bandar.[23]

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[20] *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* p. 244.

[21] H. T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, p. 103; William Floor, *The Dutch East India Company (VOC) and, Diewel Sind (Pakistan),* p.39.

[22] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, pp. 13n, 132. John Spiller's salary was increased to £133.6s 8d.

[23] Sorley, pp. 103, 104.

The English did not always trade in exchange of bullion, but practiced barter trade also. While following the land route from Lahore to Multan and then to Thatta; they carried sugar candy (*nabat)*, in exchange for pepper, tin, lead, spices, broad clothes, dates and other commodities.[24] Merchants coming from Persia and Arab exchanging dates, horses seed pearls (*Algofrees*) pearls, incense, gymmastics, seena leaves, and jews stones (*Lapis Judicus*) for white and black sugar, butter, cocos (called *Nos Indica* or Indian nut), white linen and printed cloth.[25] Isfahani merchants were also visiting Thatta for the sale of their silk, especially after Portuguese lost Hormuz.[26]

After the Portuguese, the English had tried to monopolize the trade with Sind by adopting unfriendly attitude towards other competitors from Europe; for example, the Dutch traders against whom the English joined hands with the Portuguese: and the English even pleaded the local merchants, to not to welcome the new ones. The extent of their unwillingness went so far that they contacted a local sea pirate Rasy Rāṉā (perhaps a Med) to attack Dutch Cargos.[27]

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[24] *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 102.

[25] *E.F.I. 1642-1645*, pp. 227, 232.

[26] Manucci, vol I. p. 58

[27] Pelsaert, pp. 37,32.

Since the Dutch had already established their factory in Iran,[28] in 1623 A.D; their trading with Sind was probably through Iran via Makran, they now wanted to open a factory in Sind also. An attempt was made in 1652 A.D. by Director Pelgromscent Pieter De Bie.[29] They, however, continued to trade for few years, but due to the constant danger of pirates and nomads, who threatened the safety of trade routes, the Dutch withdrew their efforts. From the side of Baluchistan the Baluchi chiefs, while Rajasthan border was inhabited by the Samejahs, who from time to time made the route uncomfortable for the merchants. Although the Mughal administration in Sind, subsequently tried hard to clear the route for which at one instance, the *zamīndār* Rānā Rūkun in the year 1655 A.D, was even attacked by the Mughal forces under Ẓafar Khān for having looted the property of the merchants.[30] The administration had even tried to keep check on these pirates, by promoting other recalcitrant or by pleasing them; as a pirate was being paid to clear the sea from Sangani (Cutchi) pirates,

[28] William Floor, *op. cit.* p. 10. Besides English, the Portuguese had also threatened the Governor of Thatta, that if the Dutch were allowed to trade, the Portuguese fleet would attack the town. *E.F.I. 1630-1633*, p. 207n.

[29] William Floor, *op. cit.* pp. 9, 10.

[30] *Ibid.*

and an annual payment was forwarded to Rasy Rānā, and a Baluch chief to check them from doing wrong with the merchants.[31] Previously, in the year 1613 A.D., an English traveller, who was coming by way of Radhanpur and Nagar parkar, from Ahmadabad to Thatta, with his fellows, was attacked and looted by a local chief (probably a nomad from the hills), some merchants were even killed also.[32]Apart from expansion of trade around this time, it seems that owing to constant apprehension of nomadic attacks, and lack of safety in transit routes that bills of exchange (*Hūndis*) became very popular in Thatta and Bhakkar. These bills were generally drawn on Ahmadabad.[33] There is a reference when a bill was issued from Bhakkar to be drawn on Multan, from Multan on Lahore, from Lahore on Akbarabad (Agra), and from there, on Kannauj.[34] With this the risk

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[31] Ināyat Khān, *Shāhjahāmā,* tr. p. 509.

[32] William Floor, *op. cit,* p. 11 Raja Rānā, who was settled in the Indus delta was being paid Rs 12,000 to 14,000 annually, and Baluch chief was paid Rs10,000 to 14,000 annually.

[33] N. Withington, p. 191. See also pp. 212, 214, 220 for other incidents of plundering and murdering of merchants.

[34] When the bill was issued from Thatta to Ahmedabad it was at one percent loss, with a limitation of payment within 60 days, and at a interest rate of 1¼ and 1 percent. While if the bill was issued from Ahmadabad and drawn at Thatta it would gain 2 percent. *E.F.I. 1634-1636,* p. 131; *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 101.

of carrying coins, and unsafe trade became lesser to some extent. Ensuring a safe passage for the merchants through this region, was a constant goal of the Mughal administration.

Although the European merchants remained dominant in the region, yet the *bania* (caste of Hindu), and the *khatri* communities of this region carried brisk trade with Iran,[35] generally known as Multani merchants. These traders were so powerful that even the East India company agents relied upon them, and their names are casually mentioned in the East India company records, for e.g. Navaldas, who financed commerce between Sind, Multan and Lahore; and Bumbamal, who made large payments to the Mughal officers out of his own wealth.[36] With the help of these merchants, a coastal trade was carried out, outside India, with the ports of Basra, Gombroon, Masqat, Congo, Bahrein, and also with the Indian ports of Cambay and Surat. Several hundred *maunds* of silk were brought to Sind every year by the

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[35] It was because there was no *mahājan* (banker) at Bhakkar. See 'Abdul Jalīl Bilgrāmī's letters, Persian translation on even and translation on odd pages in *Oriental Mescillany* Calcutta, I (1978), p. 156. See also pp. 274, 276, 278, 282. There could be much loss in discount (*hundyāvār*).

[36] Jean de Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* pp. 77, 78.

Lohanis, chiefly from Bokhara and Turkistan.[37] The indigenous merchants shared the trade with their foreign counterparts at these places. The land route followed the export from Thatta to Khorasan via Bhakkar, Multan, Qandahar, and Persia through caravans.[38] An annual caravan left Bhakkar for there kingdoms carrying textiles and other things.[39] These caravans where generally dominated by the Multani merchants.[40] *Banīas* of this place also gave impetus to trade with Afghan via Bolan Pass. Lohanis used to visit Multan every year, chiefly from Bokhara, and Turkistan, carrying silk with them.[41] Not only the urban traders were involved in commercial activities, but at a local level, nomads also participated to internal trade, nomads of Sehwan especially Nuhmardis, used to sell livestock including camels, horses, goats, cows and asses; along with carpets and rugs, in exchange for

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[37] G. T. Vigne, *A personal narrative of a visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, London, 1840, pp. 21, 22.

[38] H.T. Sorley, pp. 103, 104.

[39] Travernier, vol I, p. 74.

[40] Fray Sebastein Manrique, vol II, p. 59.

[41] Above twenty thousand Multani merchants were noted in Persia. See Sir John Chardin, *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and East India*, London, 1686, vol II, pp. 98-100.

grains, clothes and arms.[42] But this type of trade did not amount to much revenues for the Mughal Empire, and was much local in character.

The geographical position of Sind benefited merchants to carry overseas trade through Indus to Persian Gulf and Red Sea, and for inland trade, they generally followed route from Bhakkkar to Multan to Lahore to Qandahar and thence to Persia: another one through Rann of Cutch to Jaisalmer, and from there to Agra. The administration also provided religious and civic liberties to foreign merchants.[43]

As far as the mode of transport is concerned, the merchandise were either carried on camels, horses and pack oxen[44]on land routes or through small boats.[45] Ships up to 200 and 300 tons of burden used to anchor at the port and after unloading the cargo, the merchandize were

[42] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 111,124, 239. During the tenure of Qāsim K͟hān Namkīn as a *jāgīrdār* of Sehwan, these Nuhmardis has promised a safe conduct in lieu of which they were granted permission for trade. A caravan of their, comprising 4,000 to 5,000 camels regularly came to the city of Sehwan for trading purpose.

[43] Manucci, vol I, p. 60.

[44] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp.5, 26,111.

[45] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 115. Apparently the carts were not employed. Nomads of Alor as Pahawar possessed a large number of camels and supplied them on lease to Jaisalmer, Multan, and Qandahar. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* vol II, p. 5

brought to Thatta in small boats up the river.[46] A cargo capacity of one hundred maund procured Rs.250.[47] Generally the boats were of four types *dūndī, dūnij, dahrā* and *g͟hūrab.*[48] Alexander Hamilton has described these boats in detail which was used by the merchants frequently within Sind region.[49] Among these, the officials at Sind generally kept *g͟hūrabs* (war boats), for commanding riparian traffic, as most of traffic was centred on different channels in Sind.

The petition of John Spiller, shows how the Mughal administration functioned, and how difficulties arose between the local officials and

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[46] *Tārīk͟h-i-Ṭāhīrī* . p.114 .There were some 40,000 boats small or big lying in the *sarkar* of Thatta. Irfan Habib *The agrarian system of Mughal India* 1556-1707, p. 70n. Pelsaert, pp. 31, 32. In Sehwan also small boats of ferries used to bring merchandize. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol II, p. 157.

[47] *E.F.I.1637-1647*, p. 41.

[48] *Tārīk͟h-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 114. While for the crossing of river *pūllā jār* and *mussuks* (inflated hide) were used; Edward Thornton, vol I, p. 208.The boatmen of *pargana* Nairun used reed woven boats, the smaller one called *tārō*, and bigger ones *madd* in Sindhi language. (*Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 69.)

[49] For the navigation the localites used vessels called *kishtīes* of several sizes. "The largest could carry a burden of 200 tons, which were flat bottomed, and each side had cabin built from stern to stem, that overhang about 2 foot, and in each cabin, is a kitchen, and a place for exoneration." See Alexander Hamilton, vol I p. 123. *Ā'īn* mentions that at least 40,000 boats were present in Thatta. Vol II, p.165.

the English,[50]which is addressed to the *Bakshiu'l Mamalik*; is, infact a bitter complaint against the *Shāhbandar* (who was also the *bakhshī* of *ṣūba* Thatta). This document also throws light on the corrupt practices that were practiced there, which caused difficulty for the English merchants. The English factory records do not directly reveal any such incident, but in a letter of 11 February 1647 to Surat, a reference is made to "dealing with that *Shāhbandar* about their broadcloth,"[51] which may be the same transaction as the sale to the Shah Bandar of the broadcloth worth Rs 700, mentioned in our document. Also in November 1647, Spiller did in fact reported a great French ship engaged in piracy which may be related to reference of French pirate ships in our document.[52]

Apparently the matter was solved, otherwise the English records would have contained constant complaints over the nonpayment of the price of their broadcloth by the vexing Shah Bandar.

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[50] Sloanne collection, 80 b(2).A translation of this document is provided in the Appendix B of chapter one, part three.

[51] *E.F.I. 1646-1650*, p. 102.

[52] *Ibid.*

Despite, one or two of such incidents, Mughal administration tried to keep these foreign merchants in good humor, as they were given certain concessions from time to time by the Imperial authorities; either by minimizing the custom duties, or abolition of illegal cesses by the Emperor. The Governors even attended some of them personally. Despite this apparent condescending attitude of the Imperial authorities, it seems that certain geographical changes in the latter half of the seventeenth century possibly led to the decline in the trade, and trading activities in Sind.

# CHAPTER 7
# ARCHITECTURE

## 7.1: Major Buildings; Built during Mughal Era

Sind had an interesting architectural history, reflecting changes in the political power and artistic tradition. These changes depicts the influence of the introduction of other regional architectural features on Sindhi building, as a result of Mughal occupation on Sind. The Mughal officials, who came here, and constructed buildings, carried with them the different styles of architecture.

Buildings which were constructed during the Mughal period were mainly categorized into two: (1) Mosques, and (2) Tombs. While the mosques were erected in Rohri, Sukkur and Thatta, the mausoleums were generally confined to graveyard of Makli hills; which according to Alexander Hamilton, "looks like a small town of Tombs; and the tombs in it numbered forty-two."[1]

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[1] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, pp. 120-121. "In traveling from Dungbam [situated between Thatta and Lahari Bandar] towards Thatta, about four miles short of the city, on smooth rising ground there are forty two fine large tombs, which from the plain appeared to be a small town. These are the burial places of the Kings of Sindy."

The buildings are generally made of two types of materials; either they are made of yellow colour sand stone (which was locally available to them), or of the finely backed red bricks being made of best pottery clay. The previous types have carvings on stone for decoration, while the latter have decoration of glazed tiles; which were locally manufactured.[2]

**The Mosques:**

In upper Sind, the mosques of Mughal period are present in Rohri and Sukkur. In Rohri, there are two *Qāziān* mosques, one was built by Amīnuddīn Husaīn in A.H. 1062 (1651-52 A.D), as corroborated by chronogram,[3] and is situated near the end of Lansdowne bridge, while the other *Qāziān* mosque was built by one Muḥammad Umar in A.H. 1114 (1702-1703 A.D.).[4] Besides this, other mosques which were noted by Henry Cousens during his survey,

[2] Hala, thirty five miles north of Hyderabad, still manufacture these kind of tiles; though at Nasarpur the tiles were also manufactured (and also in Multan), but the tiles of Hala were the best. Henry Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 113. The Mughals patronized this industry and tiles were exported to different parts of India. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Society,* 1990, vol XXXIII, part III, p. 252.

[3] Henry Cousens, p. 157

[4] *Ibid.*

were *'Idgāh Masjid* built by Sayyed Mīr Ma'sūm in 1593-94 A.D,[5] the *Dīnpanāh Masjid* build by Khwājah Muḥammad Husaīn during 'Alamgīr's reign in 1684-85 A.D, Khwājah Sālih's mosque built in 1710-1711 A.D, and another *masjid* built in 1698-99 A.D, by Shaīkh Muḥammad during 'Alamgīr's reign.[6]

At Sukkur, Mīr M'asūm Bhakkarī had built many buildings during the reign of Akbar. He had constructed a mosque which was a ship shape on the top of a hill on the bank of river,[7] with a flight of stone stairs which descended to river for people to perform ablution. Henry Cousens records this mosque having an inscription dated 1597-98 A.D.[8] The inscription also refers to a pleasure house and the garden of Iram. The pleasure house was probably *Sitāsār*, which had a

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[5] East Wick, *Dry leaves from Egypt*, pp. 43, 44. This mosque has following inscription, "in the time of *khilāfat* of great Shāh Mohammad Akbar---this building was erected for good purpose by the noble Muḥammad M'asūm of Bhakkar, son of Sayyed Safa, for the common benefit of all *Musalman* --- in 1008 A.H." Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī informs us of one *'Idgāh masjid* built at Sukkur and one at Rohri, by Qāsim Khān Namkīn. He also constructed a *Jam'i* mosque in Sukkur. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin,* vol I, pp. 198-199.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, p. 4; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin,* vol I, p. 203.He had built a *Jam'i* mosque at Sukkur. P.201.

[8] Henry Cousens, p. 154.

green dome and served as a beautiful recreation spot.[9] During the survey of Sukkur by Henry Cousens, this building with an octagonal dome was noted, which gives the date of 1595-1596. It was built of brick and coloured tiles and has four arched entrances; east and west have carved stone windows (oriel) above the entrance. It had glazed windows and glazed doors. About fourteen feet from the floor inside is a gallery running round the walls, above which is written an inscription with *Qurānic* verses, and it gives the date 1595-1596 A.D. As far as garden of Iram is concerned, Shaīkh Farīd Bhakkarī informs that, "Mīr M'asūm had laid out a garden in twenty-*bigha* plot a land, and had planted trees of fruits and flowers."[10] He had also constructed

[9] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 4. It states that," at a distance of half a *kuroh*, there used to be a small hillock in the middle of the river. During the summer when water subsided it became visible whereas in flood season it disappeared, consequently boats coming downstream ran it were ship wrecked and sunk. Mīr M'asūm Bhakkarī caused a ship laden with stones to be at that place, and upon it constructed a green dome, naming it *Sitāsār*, which has developed into a beautiful recreational spot. This was also called *Gumbadh-i-Darīya* as the charonogram suggests. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara,* vol III, p. 327, while *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin*, gives the date1593-94. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin*, vol I, p. 203.

[10] *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin*, vol I, p. 204. However it does not tell about the layout of the garden, whether it was based on *chāharbāgh* pattern of Mughals or not.

a tall *minar*.[11]It was built of brick, but had a thick layer of building material (plate II). Its lantern top is surrounded with an iron cage, which gives it an appearance of light house. A spiral stair case was also constructed in the centre of *minar*. It's total height is about hundred feet, and circumference at the base is eighty four feet, the date of its construction is A.D.1594. It was probably started by Mīr M'asūm, as the inscription on the door gives this date, while date of completion is A.D.1618. Its inscription was composed by Mīr Buzurg (son of Mīr M'asūm), which suggest that the minaret was probably completed by his son.

In lower Sind i.e. in Thatta, there are three notable mosques, even present in the modern days. According to *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, two mosques in Thatta were built by Abul'l Baqā or better known as Nawāb Amīr Muḥammad Khān,[12] during Shāhjahān's reign. The first

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[11] This *minar* was visible from twenty *kos*. See *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin*, vol I, p. 204.See also Henry Cousens, pp. 150-151.

[12] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām* vol III, part I, pp. 325, 326. He was the brother of Yusuf Mirak, author of *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, and the son of Mīr Qāsim Khān Namkin. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjāhani*, vol II, pp. 121-22. He held the *manṣab* of 2500/1500 during the time of Jahāngir but had a raise of 500 and became *manṣabdār* of 3000/2000 at the time of Shāhjahān. He was also governor of Thatta twice from in 1629, and again from 1643-47. Lahōrī, *Bādshāhnāma*, vol I, p.287; vol II, pp. 302, 641; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol I, pp.172-74.

mosque is situated in *Mahalla* Bhāi Khān (plate III).[13] The inscription on southern wall of thē mosque gives the date of its construction 1039 A.H.-1040 A.H. (i.e. 1629-30-1639-40 A.D.)[14] While the northern wall gives the name of Amīr Khān. This mosque is made of unglazed cut and rubbed red baked bricks, and is a single domed square structure, measuring 23'6" externally and 16'3" internally.[15] Its main entrance is towards the east. The eastern wall had three arches inside rectangular frames, of which central *pishtaq* is higher and has carved stone door jamb. The central *pishtaq* has arcuate and trabeate style. Their decoration has almost vanished, but inscription in Arabic are still there. Similarly chevron pattern are visible in the tympanum of the arch. The walls have blue enamel frieze. The prayer chamber is surmounted with a conical dome, which rests on circular drum, again decorated with blue glazed tiles arranged horizontally, and deep blue tiles in vertical *guldasta* form against while background. Upper frame has same pattern but bigger in size, and had white and blue colour against red bricks. The dados have panel decoration which have the

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[13]Amīr Khān had named the locality as Amīrābad. *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, pp. 325,326n.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15] Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Thatta Islamic Architecture*, Islamabad, Pakistan, 1982, p. 190.

design of blooming flower plants, fruit vases, *guldastas* designs made out of glazed tiles, the ceiling also have tile decoration.[16] Since the structure is of bricks, the only decoration could be done was with tiles.

***J 'ama* Mosque:**

The *J'ama masjid* of Thatta was built on the orders of Shāhjāhān and probably Amīr Khān was made in charge, because *Tūhfat'ul Kīram* mentions the construction of one *J'ama masjid* by Amīr Khān, built on the orders of ShāhJahān.[17] The inscription on the southern wall of the mosque, gives the date of starting of construction as 1644 A.D., and completion date 1647 A.D.[18] But the floor was laid later, as its inscription gives the date 1657 A.D.[19] Its total coast is said to have amounted to six lacs rupees, given from the royal treasury.[20] Probably this was the first grand and expansive building of Sind. The

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[16] *Ibid,* p. 190.

[17] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, p. 326n, while Michael Barry says that the construction of mosque began by ShāhJāhān, but completed by Aūrangzēb after he overthrew Shāhjahān. Michael Barry, *Colour and symbolism in Islamic Architecture*, France, 1996, p. 300.

[18] Amīr Khān also died in the year 1647 A.D. See *Tūhfat'ulKirām* vol III,part I, p. 325. The eastern wing was added later in 1658-59 A.D. by Aūrangzēb, (Henry Cousens, pp. 120, 121)

[19] Henry Cousens, p. 121.

[20] *Ibid.*

mosque is made of red bricks with tiles decoration, and is built upon a stone plinth with heavy square piers and walls. It's in the form of a great quadrangle, the prayer chamber occupying the western side. A corresponding block of building on the eastern side from the entrance with long corridors on the north and south sides, connecting these, close in great oblong courtyard which measures 164′ X 97″ while the whole building covering 305′ X 170″.[21] The longer side being east to west; with the *liwāns* on western, northern, and southern sides (plate IV) . The western *liwān* is four bay deep, while those of northern and southern sides are only two bays deep.[22] Each bay is covered with a low dome, which makes the roof composed of no less than ninety three domes,[23] (the multiplicity of domes was first introduced in India by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq), three of which are principle ones i.e., on western, northern, and southern arches, which are much larger than the rest. In the western side, the view of main dome is completely

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[21]*Ibid*, p. 121.

[22] A.H. Dani, p. 192.

[23] In the mosques built during Firūz Shāh Tughlaq period ,bays are generally roofed by a cup shaped dome; a feature which is dominant in *Kālī Masjid* (Delhi, 1370 A.D), *Bēgumpurī Masjid* at JahanPanah (1370 A.D.), the *Khīrki Masjid* at Jahanpanah (1375 A.D.). Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic period*), Mumbai, 1956, p. 24.

blocked by the height of central *pishtaq* which opens in the projected rectangular frame [plate V], having an Arabic inscription on stone, while the entire façade in decorated with the glazed tiles. The spandrels of the central *maqsūra* have a lovely scroll in white and other floral patterns in blue, and the main motif in light blue, on tiles. The phase of transition is quite visible in the main *mihrāb* chamber, in interlacing of the arches. The main *mihrāb* in made of white marble, which has a marble lattice window, contained within a series of frames; rectangles, and arches. Each frame is demarcated by glazed material, blue opposite to red or deep blue against light blue, and a peculiar honey comb vaulting. The main *mihrāb* is flanked by two arched latticed window, opening in deep alcove. The northern arch is again accompanied by *mimber* of four stairs. The dados have floral motifs, set within a horizontal band of white and deep blue tiles, alternating with horizontal band of white, deep blue and light blue glittering linings. At the ceiling, the side arches have interlaced arches, and chevron pattern in red, blue and white, while the rectangular frames of all the three arches have Arabic inscription in red against the blue.

Right opposite the central *mihrāb*, there is a domed monumental entrance on the east. Inside of which has a flight of stairs that goes up. There is another additional door complex in the east, with one high arched entrance, in the middle, and a smaller arched entrance on either side. These allied entrances led to a central square courtyard having ablution pond in the middle, unlike that of conventional mosque, in which main courtyard has ablution pond.

The eastern facade has three arches within a rectangle frame; the central one being higher than the side ones, each one is half domed. The central arch is closed by a modern wooden door due to the presence of a grave (built later probably). The side arches provides the entry whose spandrels have glazed decoration with lobed oval design and small floral decoration in light blue, dark blue and white, opposite the red (plate VI). Behind this high projected frame, rises the white plastered dome crowned with inverted lotus finial. The ceiling of the dome has glazed tiles of blue, white and yellow arranged in concentric circles, around the central flower motif, accompanied by stars,[24] in white on blue background.

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[24] The star and chevron patterns are also found in Mughal buildings, a design which is borrowed from central Asia. Chevron pattern is found very commonly on Mughal

There was another *Jām'i* mosque in Thatta, built by Mīr Farrūkh Arghun, whose description is not available; may be it perished with the passage of time and therefore could not be recorded.[25]

**Khirkī Mosque**:

Another mosque, which is situated in Thatta and went unnoticed by Henry Cousens,[26] is Khirkī mosque which is situated inside the Shāhī Bazar locality of Thatta. This building is also a brick structure, and is decorated with glazed tiles. According to inscription on its *mihrāb,* it was built by Nawāb 'Abdūr Razzāq Muẓaffar Khān in 1613 A.D., before he became the governor of Thatta.[27]

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buildings, as on Tāj Maḥal (1634), and *Jām'i Masjid* of Agra (1648), and so the star pattern which is found on the spandrels of main gate of Hūmāyūn's tomb. Percy Brown. Plate LXXXVI; W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal, the illumined tomb*, London, 1989 Plate 21. For star pattern see Janya Rama Nathan and D.N. Dube, *Monuments of Delhi*, Delhi, 1997, pp. 100-101.

[25] *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 111. When Portuguese attacked Thatta, many of the inhabitants had taken shelter in this *Jām'i* mosque.

[26] Although Henry Cousens gives a detailed description of all the monuments of Thatta, yet this mosque is not taken into notice by him, but A.H. Dani gives the description of this mosque. A. H. Dani, p. p. 186-187.

[27] Nawāb 'Abdu'r Razzāq Muẓaffar Khān Ma'amurī came to Sind, when Mirza Rustam Safawī was the governor of Thatta in the year 1616-1617.*Tuzuk*, vol I, p. 110; vol II, p.156; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* , vol III, p. 378.

The mosque consists of a rectangular prayer chamber measuring 53' each side. The main entrance to which is provided in south east corner of the courtyard, having a high enclosure walls. The western *liwān* has series of seven arches, decorated with glazed tiles of deep blue, light blue, and white colour. The western *liwān* has conventional three domes view of which is obstructed by the high eastern facade. The eastern facade has three arches set within rectangular frame, the central one higher than the flanking ones, opening under high alcoves. These arches have total six nook shafts, the flanking arches having one on each side, while the central *pishtaq* has two extra to it. The spandrel have a floral motif of blue set within lobed oval motif of while tiles.

The prayer hall is divided into three bays; the central one is bigger and square and has lateral arches on north and south, while the side bays have recessed arches on east and west to make the room square. The central square chamber is converted into octagonal with the use of squinches and pendentives. The main *mihrāb* has three latticed windows, while the side bays have single *mihrāb* and single latticed window. Decoration on the dadoes has totally gone, which was again of glazed tiles, but still some glimpses of it are remaining.

There is another *masjid*, *Dabgīr masjid,* which was built by Khūsro Khān Chirkīs in 1588 A.D., prior to the Mughal occupation of Sind.[28] There is a reference of another mosque of Sehwan, for whose maintenance land was granted, but again I am unable to locate it.[29]

**Tombs:**

Among the tomb building at Sukkur, first is the tomb of Mīr Muḥammad M'asūm Bhakkrī, his father and other members of the family on a raised platform (plate VII), which are in the form of open canopies, the roof of which is supported on carved stone[30] pillars, some of which are square, and octagonal. The roof has battlemented parapets and three domes at the top, with central one being larger in size with crown finials. The shafts of the pillars are covered with Persian writing in relief and other ornamental tracery. Mīr M'asūm's grave is dated 1605-06 A.D., and that of his father, which has several inscription bears the date 1583 A.D.[31] Since he himself was a very

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[28] Henry Cousens, p. 122.

[29] There is a reference pf this *Jām'i* mosque in *Jamm-i-Badī*. It says, in the *Jām'i* mosque of Siwistan(Sehwan), Sayyed Maḥmood, and Sayyed Raḥīm were *imām* and *khātib*, who had daily allowance (*wajah-i-yaūmīa*) of 7 *annas* and 5 *annas*. In addition to this some land was also granted to meet the expences. *Jamm-i-Badī*, ff 73a-74a.

[30] This form of tomb is called *Chaūkbandī*. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin* ,vol I, p.204.

[31] Henry Cousens, p. 152.

good calligrapher, Farīd Bhakkarī tells that he himself did epigraphic calligraphy on his grave [and probably of his father], and on sarcophagus of his grave, he had inscribed, ninety nine names of god.[32]

Then there is a tomb building of Mīr 'Abdūl Bāqī Purānī, situated to the south-west of collector's house; whose chronogram been composed by Shaīkh Qāzī Shāh Muḥammad and it gives the date 1610 A.D.[33]

Another building which was made during the Mughal period was *Suffah-i-Safā* (the platform of purity); which was a quadrangular platform, with a minaret on every corner of it, built by Qāsim Khān Namkīn where he used to have meetings with learned persons.[34]

The tombs of ruling dynasties of Thatta are confined to Makli hills, which looks like a small town of grave.[35] The material used for

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[32] *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin*, vol I, p. 204.

[33] Henry Cousens, pp. 153-154.

[34] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 3. Although Shaīkh Farīd Bhakkarī, and Mīr 'Abdul Hayy identified it as his mausoleum, where he was buried. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, p. 77; *Zakhirāt-ul Khwānin*, vol I, p.199. This building was probably not surviving when Henry Cousens had mad his survey of Sukkur buildings.

[35] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, pp. 120-121.

the construction of these tombs is yellow tome stone or fine baked bricks.

**Tombs of Jānī Beg and Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān:**

The important tomb in the Makli hill, built during Mughals especially during Akbar's period, is of Jānī Beg Tarkhān.[36] The inscription provides the date of his death A.D.1601.[37] The main octagonal tomb building stands on a stone plinth (plate VIII), within an enclosure measuring 78′ 6 ″x 71′ 9″.This enclosure has an entrance to the east, and a *mihrāb* on the west, made of stone, set under a high arch, and has two small carved brackets on each side and also a decorated niche (plate IX). The *mihrāb* has carved pillarate on each side, (a typical Sindhi style) the *mihrāb* forms a half octagon, and has profuse carving of rosette and other motifs. The rectangular frames at cornice level has Arabic inscription, while the side niches have oval lobed motif with rosette carved in low relief, while the rosette above it, and above the rectangular frame of main arch, have been carved in high relief.

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[36] Mirza Jānī Beg Tarkhān had got his tomb constructed during his life time. *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, p. 165.

[37] *Ibid.* The date is given as 20th *Rajab* 1009 A.H.

The tomb is made of superior brick work, with pointing of sunken stripes of white enamel along the edges of each brick. The joints are so fine, that a knife blade can hardly be inserted between the bricks.[38] The octagonal tomb has eight lateral arches set within rectangular framework divided by eight piers. While the arches at the corner are closed one, the arch on north east has grilled window and Arabic inscription above it in blue and white. This grilled window opens under a high lateral arch set within rectangular frame. Only opening is from southern arch, made of arcuate and trabeate combination, and has a latticed window set above the door level. While the rectangular frame has Arabic inscription set in blue, while against the red.

The interior of the tomb is in the form of square chamber, and decorated with glazed tiles at the spandrels of the squinches, above it is a series of arcaded zone, and at the top is inter lacing of arch; everything is decorated with dark blue, light blue and white tiles, in vertical, horizontal bands and floral, and geometrical motifs on the floor. In the chamber lies three graves, the cenotaph of the two graves

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[38] Henry Cousens, p. 119.

is made of marble. The dome of the tomb is low, rests on circular glazed red brick base, from which lotus petals are springing, encircling the dome. Its' finial is, however, missing. The tomb of Ghāzī Beg is however recorded neither by Henry Cousens, nor by A.H. Dani. But Alexander Hamilton gives the account of Ghāzī Beg's tomb building. According to him, "I went into the largest [tomb], which is built in the form of a cupola, and in the middle of it stood a coffin-tomb, about three foot high, and seven foot long, with some others of a lesser size. The materials of the cupola were yellow, green and red porphyry, finely polished, and the stone set in regular order in chequered way...... the tomb is about ten yard high and seven in diameter."[39] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām* also tells that, "Ghāzī Beg, after his death in Qandahar was brought to Sind, and his body was buried in the neighborhood of his father; and do not have any inscription.[40] Keeping in view all these description, there is one unidentified tomb

[39] Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 121. He further says, "I was told that it's the burying place of the last king of the country, who was robbed of his sovereignty by Jehāngīr, grandfather to the famous Aūranzgēb in the beginning of the seventeenth century..... He had built this tomb, which coasted him two lacs of rupees or twenty five thousand pound sterling." Here he is probably taking about Ghāzī beg Tarkhān. But the amount he is telling may be an exaggeration.

[40] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, p.188.

building near Jānī Beg's tomb, which is probably tomb of Ghāzī Beg. This building is situated to the south of Jānī Beg's tomb, and is twelve pillared pavilion covering a grave with a ruined brick *mihrāb* beside it. This pavilion is 14'x 6" rectangle stands on raised plinth of three feet and four inch high. The dome's ceiling has a chevron pattern made of tiles, and interlacing of arches, similar to that of Jānī Beg's tomb. But its dome is made of corbelling technique.

**Tomb of 'Isa Khān Tarkhān:**

The largest mausoleum in Makli Hill is of 'Isa Tarkhān II, built in between1627-28 – 1628-29 A.D.[41] The tomb is made inside an enclosure; which has closed arcaded zone, eastern side of which has an opening entrance. This entrance is in the form of a high *pishtaq,* which is a lateral arch and a semi dome set within a rectangular frame.

[41] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, p. 191. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān II, was the son of Jan Baba son of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān I, who entered into service of Akbar in 1603-1604 A.D. During the reign of Shāhjahān, he was made *ṣūbedār* of Thatta after his posting to Gujarat. He was *manṣabdār* of one thousand. After his death in 1651-52 A.D., he was burried in his tomb at Makli hill, which he had constructed during his life time. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp. 347, 348, 349. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* tells that in the year 1642 A.D., when he was the governor of Gujarat he had reached the rank of 5000/4000 *dū aspah sīh aspah. Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, p. 487; but according to *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, he was *manṣabdār* of 5000 *ẓāt* and 5000 *sawār* with 2500 *sawār* being *dū aspah- sīh aspah. Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, vol I, pp. 227-8.

The central *pishtaq* is flanked on each side by oriel windows. The inner side also has an arcaded zone. The western enclosure wall has a raised plinth, having a *mihrāb* in the same level, while north-west and south-west have separate platform, but these platform, have graves on it. The main tomb is square and double storied situated on a square plinth, which is approached by steps of three in the middle of each of the four sides. The plinth has carving of rosette within carved arch. The main hall is square domed hall, supported on square pillars, and surrounded by pillared galleries on all the four sides. The rows are double, and each side has ten pillars, the centre of which has three arched openings (plate X), which leads inside the galleries. On the eastern side, both the sides of arch opening provide stairs to go to first floor.

The central chamber on the first floor is also a pillared hall, with twenty pillars standing on the four sides on which the weight of the dome rests. These pillars are closed by curtain wall which is profusely carved but in a low relief. There is a stone balustrade added to upper story on all the four sides. The triple arches have spear headed fringes carved out of stone and has Arabic inscriptions on rectangular panel above the spandrels. While the stone pillars of

upper story have floral motifs carved. The curtain wall has lobed oval motif, and rosette carved in low relief. The roof has multiple domes, which are shallow inverted cup like domes, while the main dome rests on the octagonal stepped carved base, and has vertical flutings, but these flutings are not smooth, these are sharp flutings. The finial is broken, but the inverted lotus is clearly visible. The lower pillars have honeycombed capitals (plate XI). There are six graves of which four are situated in west the fifth grave on eastern side is grave of Mirza 'Isa, and had the inscription with the date of death and his name on it. The tomb of 'Isa Tarkhān II, is made of yellow stone locally available, and has lot of Gujarati influence on it.

**Tomb of Jān Bābā:**

Another tomb which has Gujarati influence on it is tomb of Jān Bābā built in 1608 A.D.[42] The tomb is in enclosure, with closed arcaded zone, and is rectangular in plan; measuring 48'x34" internally, with a pillared porch in south measuring 25' 6"x20' 2", having an arched entrance which is the main entrance with battlemented parapets at the top. North-east corner of the tomb has a *zanāna*

[42] *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīri*, p. 349. Jān Bābā, who was son of 'Isa Tarkhān I, was murdered by his cousin Bāqī Beg Tarkhān. See *Tuhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, pp. 138-139.

(ladies) enclosure measuring 11' 3"x 10' 8" approached from south. The western wall of the enclosure has a highly ornate *mihrāb* projection.

In the middle of the large enclosure, there is a raised platform on which stand three pillared pavilions, which had three domes, but today only the central one is remaining. The pillars are square and have molded capitals.[43] The western *mihrāb* is very ornate, it opens under an outer arched frame having two pillarette, and rosette motif on the spandrels. The extrados of arches have laced stone work. The door entrance to the south is fronted with the pillared porch behind which, is an entrance fitted within rectangular frame carved in local style, and is topped over by a raised rectangular frame fronted by carved *chajja* (drooping eaves) on brackets. The raised frame is crowned by a series of pointed merlons, decorated with framed star pattern the door frame and has series of rosettes within geometrical designs.

**Tomb of Diwān Shūrfā Khān:**

[43] A.H. Dani, calls it honeycombed. In fact the capitals are molded, but the honeycombed design in low relief is below the capitals. A. H. Dani, p. 136, and plate No. 104.

The tomb of *diwān* Shūrfa Khān is the best preserved brick building of Makli hill, constructed in 1638 A.D.[44] It's a massive square structure standing on a platform, thirty-eight feet square, and has a series of open arches at all the four sides with heavy round towers at the corners; in place of arched alcove; containing staircase to go to rooftop (plate XII). The rooftop has a high circular drum on which rests the pointed dome, which had tile decoration, mainly blue in colour, but now only some of it is remaining.

The mausoleum was enclosed from all the four sides, but presently only the original western wall is remaining, which has a *mihrāb,* decorated with blue and white tiles, and is flanked on either side by four closed arch panels within a rectangular frame. The flanking arches are smaller in size as compared to central *pishtaq.* These arches and their spandrels are decorated with blue and white coloured tiles, set in geometrical patterns.

The tomb has four arched entrance, opening under a high arch. These entrances are combination of arcuate and trabeate style, with

[44] Henry Cousens, pp. 117, 118. This tomb was built during the lifetime to Shūrfā Khān, who was the grandson of Mīr Arghun, and minister to Nawāb Amīr Khān in 1644 A.D.

lattice work above the beam. Only the southern arch is fitted with stone door frame, and had *Qurānic* verses above its spandrels. The main chamber was also a square one, but it had been converted into an octagon with the help of squinches. The ceiling has a chevron pattern, with a light blue lining.

The floor has seven graves. The main grave cenotaph has a tall headstone, which is divided into stepped platform, filled with arched panels, flower motifs, rosette motif, chain motif, and *Qurānic* verses, with the inscription in Persian, and, engraving of *kalimah.* The chain bands separating the smaller panels on the headstone are very effective.

**Tomb of Tūghril Beg:**

There is another tomb in Makli hill built, during the Mughal period is of Tūghril Beg; which was built in 1649 A.D.[45] The tomb building is twelve pillared pavilion, built on high platform, and is sixteen feet square. These pillars are made of stone, richly carved, and have honeycombed capitals. The western side has sculpted *mihrāb.* The central arch flanked on each side by two smaller ones, within

[45] Henry Cousens, p.119.

rectangular frame,[46] with battlemented parapets at roof level. At both the ends of this western wall rests high turrets. The arches on the western wall are carved out in low relief. The pavilion has four pillars on each side. Above these at roof level rests drooping eaves, and slightly above them are battle mented parapets. The dome is preserved, but the finial is missing.

[46] *Ibid*, plate no. LV.



Plate II
Octagonal Tomb Building and Minar at Sukkur, built by Mīr M ‘asūm.

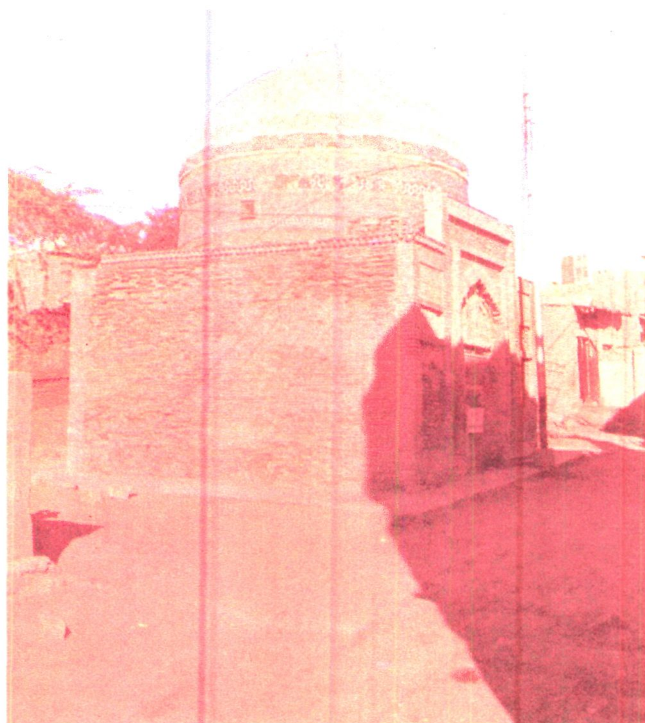


Plate III
Mosque at Thatta built by Amīr Khān

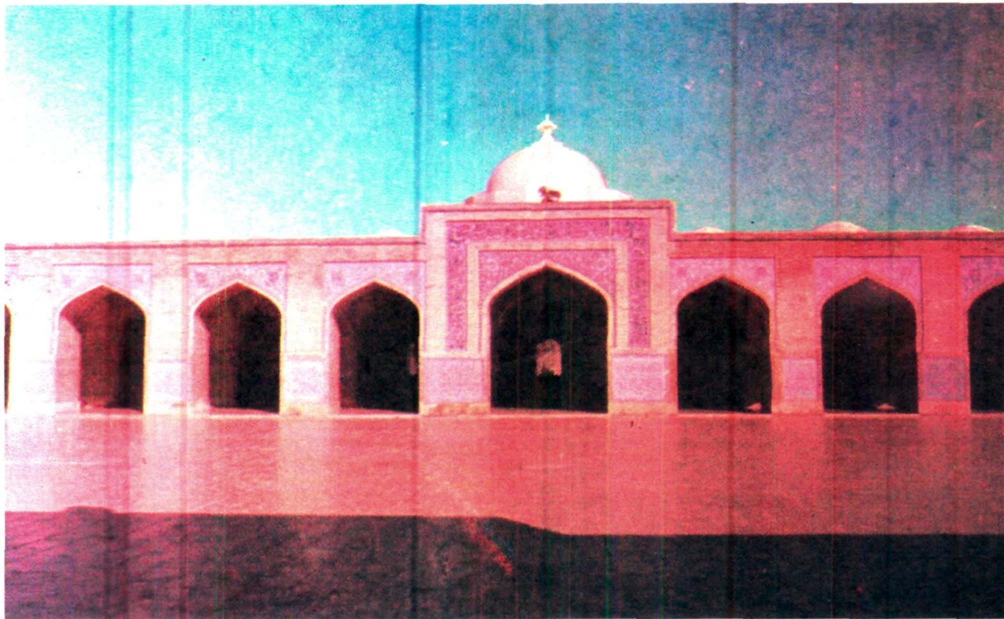


Plate IV
*Ja 'mī* Mosque at Thatta; Northern Liwan

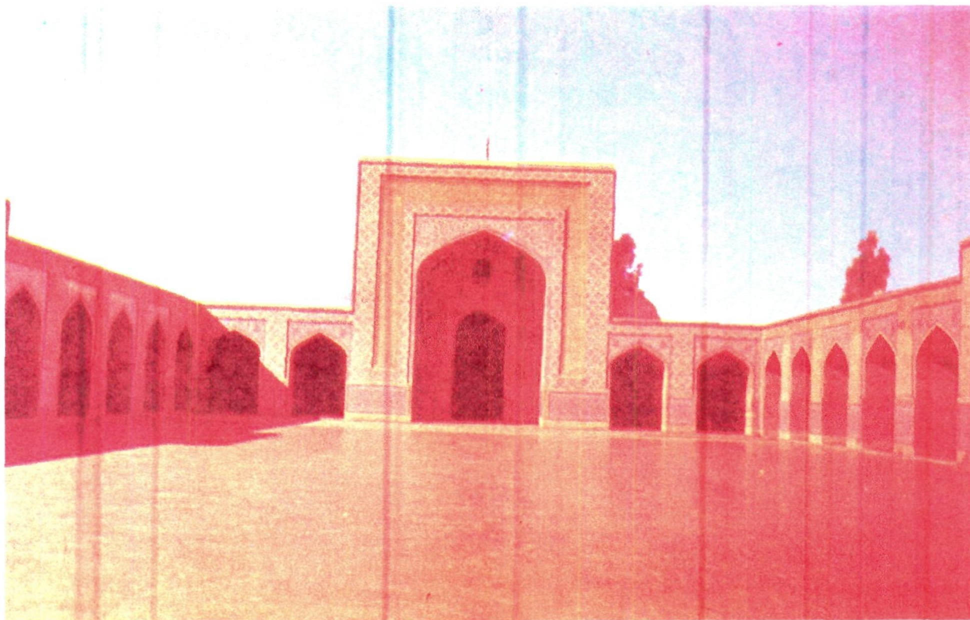


Plate V
*Ja 'mī* Mosque at Thatta; Western Liwan

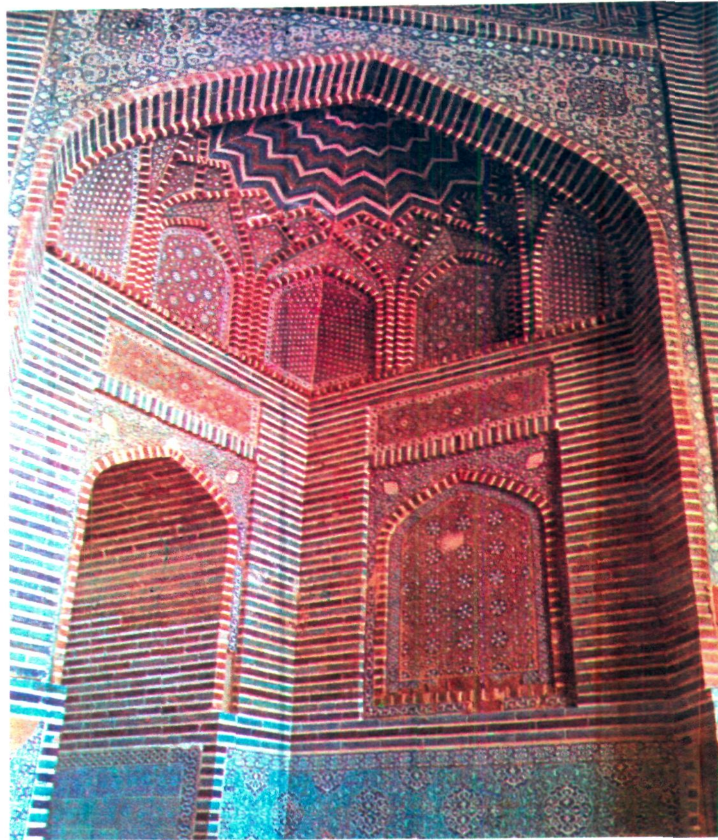


Plate VI
*Ja'mī* Mosque at Thatta; Tile Decoration



Plate VII
Mousoleum of Mīr M'asūm at Sukkur



Plate VIII
Mousoleum of Jānī Beg

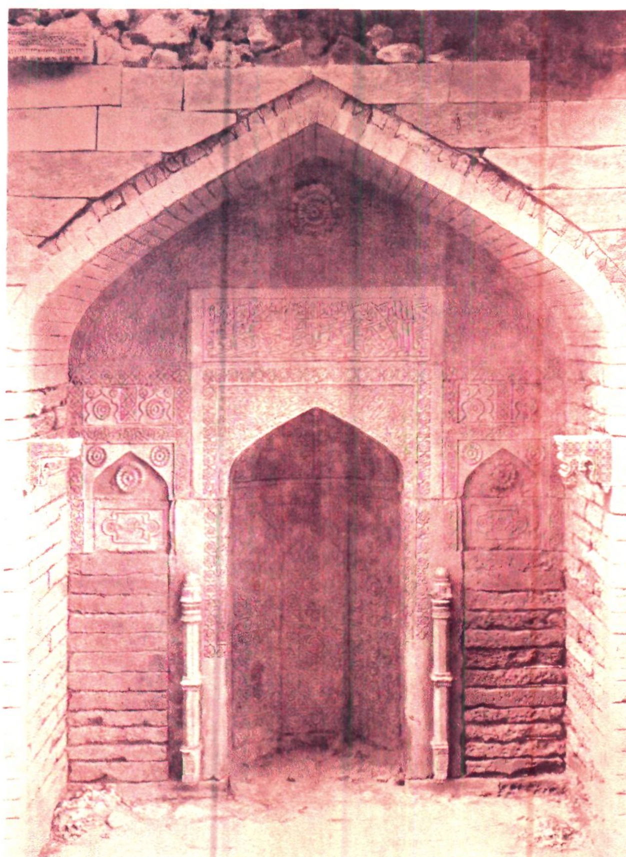


Plate IX
Western *Mihrāb* Mousoleum of Jānī Beg

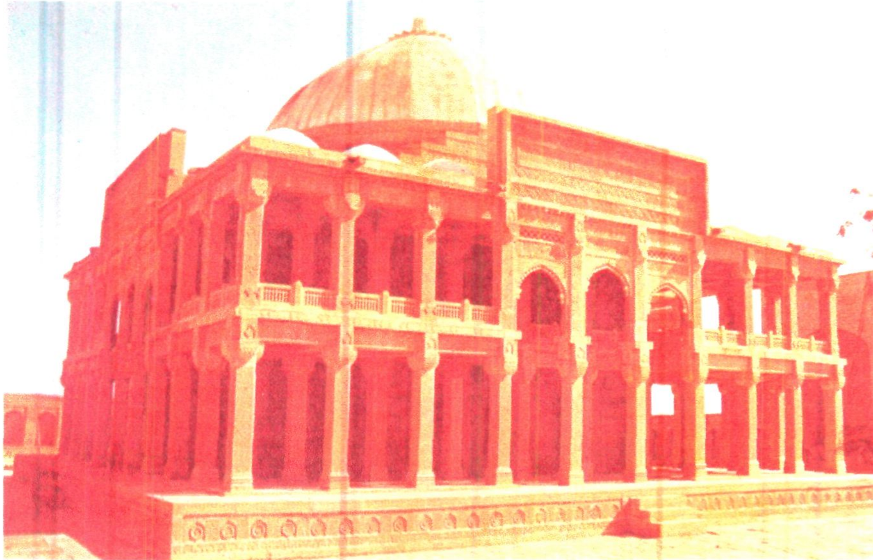


Plate X
Mousoleum of 'Isa Tarkhān II

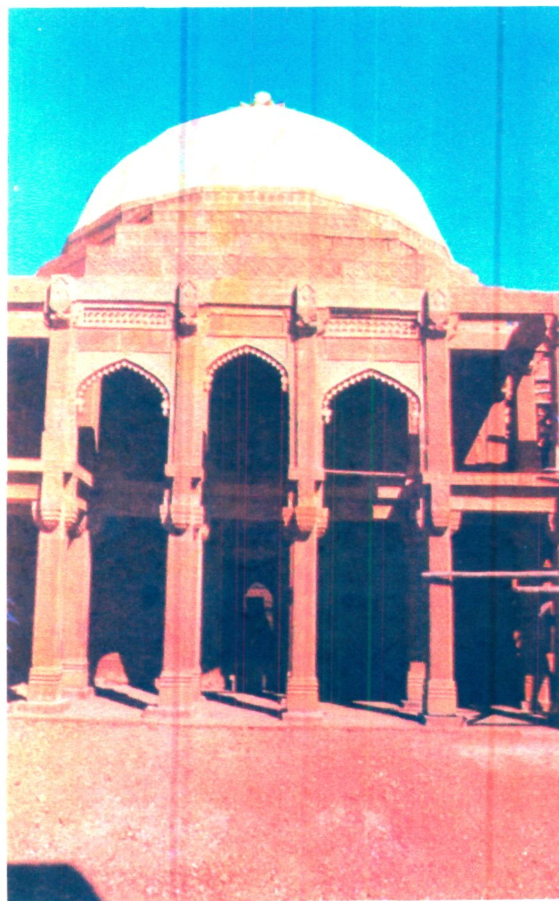


Plate XI
Front view of Mousoleum of 'Isa Tarkhān II

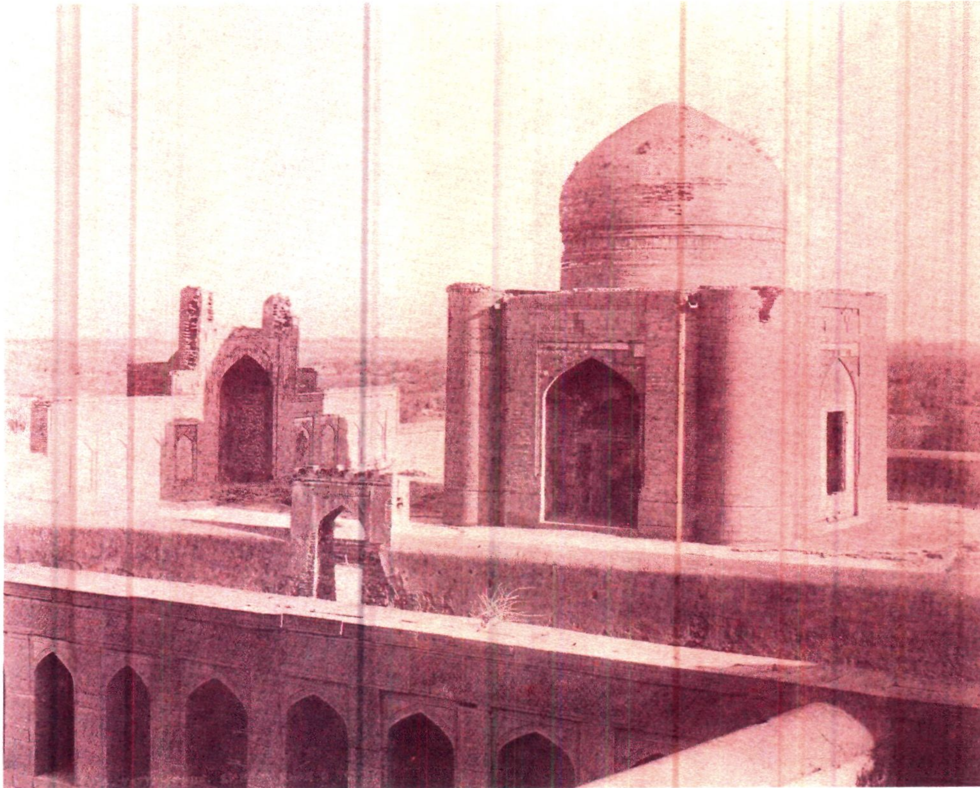


Plate XII
Mousoleum of Diwān Shurfā Khān

### 7.2: Resemblance and difference between the classical Mughal architecture, and Sind architecture

During the period, when Mughals were setting trends of imperial architecture in India, Sind was developing an independent style of its own. When the region was incorporated into Mughal Empire, Sind had already assimilated trends of Arabic art, and Persian, in its architectural decorative patterns; but to a limited extent. The buildings which were constructed before the Mughal rule in Sind, were generally of stone and bricks and the decorative patterns included arabesque, engraving of *Qurānic* verses, pilarette, rosette and other lower relief carving on stone of geometrical patterns. The buildings of bricks, was encouraged by the alluvial formation of the country, but engraving was not possible for decorative purpose, and moreover, the vast plain needed a colour scheme, therefore custom of decoration the building with glazed tiles, was introduced, which was definitely a Central Asian influence.[1] But before the coming of Mughals, there was no such grand buildings existing in Sind, as were

[1] This method of ornamentation was probably first introduced by Arabs, was later revived by its intercourse with Persia. See Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India* ,ed. by Sir Richard Burn, New Delhi, 1963, VI vols, vol IV, p.569.

introduced during the period of Shāhjahān, as Thatta *Jām'i* Mosque, and tomb of 'Isa Khān Tarkhān II, during Akbar and Jahāngīr's period. The buildings, which were constructed during Mughal period were, *Sitāsar*,[2] mosque, minaret and 'Idgāh and mausoleum of Sayyed M'asūm Bhakkarī in Sukkur and Rohri, *Suffa-i-Safa* by Qāsim Khān Namkīn, tomb of Mīr 'Abdūl Bāqī Purānī, and tomb of Jān Bābā and Mirza Jānī Beg, and Ghāzī Beg. These buildings were all constructed on high stone plinth to avoid salt erosion. These are all made of stone, and one does not find any similarity between Mughal architecture and Sind architecture. The only building which has some similarities of stone buildings of Akbari period especially that of Fatehpur Sikri, is tomb building of Jān Bābā, and of 'Isā Khān Tarkhān II, which was made during Shāhjahān's period. The dominance of pillars in these buildings reminds a person of the dominance of pillars in the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri, which were made of monolith stone, and had carvings on it, similarly the pillars in the tombs of Jān Bābā, and 'Isa Khān Tarkhān II are made of single monolith stone, and floral and geometrical carvings are done in low relief. Especially the carving

[2] According to *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, "this was *Satiyāsar*", (vol II, p. 328); while *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* and *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin* calls it *Sitāsār*. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p.4; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin* ,vol I, pp.198-199.

and tracery of Fatehpur Sikri, do have some similarities with these pillars. The only thing missing here is the use of struts of various verities. The general character of the structure has much of the temperament of Akbar's capital, and this specially applies to the low relief patterns, with which all the surfaces are profusely adorned. But with the tiles this carving a not a servile imitation.

The tomb of 'Isa Khān Tarkhān II, was built in 1644 A.D by himself, and his fathers' in 1608 A.D, the similarities of these tombs to that of Mughal architecture in stone is quite visible, but the multiplicity of domes of 'Isa Khān II's tomb and the oriel windows[3] are borrowed from Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, and Sher Shāh Sur's architecture. The tomb of 'Isa Khān Tarkhān II, have similarity with the Gujarati architecture, as here the use of double pillars, one on the top of other, is a Gujarati feature, which is perhaps the influence of his stay in Gujarat as its governor.[4]

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[3] The oriel windows are visible on the arched entrance of the enclosure of 'Isa's Tomb. See A.H.Dani, p.104, Plate No.38.

[4] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* , vol III , p.388. 'Alī Shēr 'Qani states that, "the stones for his tomb building was brought from Gujarat." *Tūhfat'ul Kirām vide* A.H. Dani, p.141. But this can't be true as the building material of the tomb is yellow limestone, which was locally available.

The building of tomb within the enclosure one find very common is Mughal tombs, whether it's of Hūmāyun, Akbar's tomb, Jahāngīr's tomb, or the Tāj Maḥal. But in Sind, this practice, started only after its annexation to the Mughal Empire. All the tombs which were made afterwards have walled enclosure; but they are missing the *chāhar bagh* (garden divided into four, a typical Timurid architectural pattern). May be because of the arid climate, they did not go for this type of garden. But in Sukkur, Sayyed M'asūm Bhakkarī had constructed buildings with gardens.[5] There is one more reference to *chāharbāgh* present during Hūmāyūn's visit to Sind, at *mauẓa* Babrulu near Rohri (Alor).[6] This was probably built by the Arghun rulers who had carried Timurid traditions with themselves.

But the building which has evident Mughal influence is *Jām'i* mosque of Thatta. Firstly, since it was built on the orders of

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[5] *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin* informs us of garden of Iram, in twenty *bigha* plot of land, by Sayyed M'asūm Bhakkarī. But It does not inform us about its pattern. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin,* vol I, p. 204.

[6] In 1560, Sultān Maḥmūd was alarmed by hearing the news of the journey of Baīram Khān to Mecca via Bhakkar. He directed that *chāharbāgh*, where Hūmāyūn had stayed in the neighborhood of Bhakkar, be laid waste, so that Baīram Khān might not think of staying there, when Baīram Khān come to know of this, he changed his route and went to Gujarat via Pattan ( *Tārīkh-i- Sind*, p.224).

Shāhjahān, a huge amount was spent on it.[7] It is one of the largest buildings in Sind and decorated with the finest type of coloured glaze tiles.[8] Though unlike other imperial mosques of Sikri, Agra, Delhi and Lahore, which are built in stone, this mosque goes back to past tradition of Thatta of making buildings in brick; which endured the phase of building in stone. The grandeur of the building, and the symmetrical placement of lateral arches in western *liwān*, dado decoration definitely owe its lineage to Mughal architecture. Besides this, in decorative pattern, the introduction of star motif, which replaces the rosettes of the other buildings situated on Makli hill.

These stars are used dominantly on the ceiling made of tiles with, extensive use of colours like light blue, dark blue and white, arranged generally in circle around the central motif, which gives the effect of a starry sky. In the Mughal buildings, these stars are used in spandrels, and on the floors (as evident in Hūmāyuns' tomb). But the tile decoration in these buildings is indigenous and is linked to tile

[7] According to Henry Cousens, "six lacs of rupees were spent from the royal treasury." Henry Cousens, p.121.

[8] While describing the great glazed tiles of central Asia, Middle East, and India, the description of *Jām'i* mosque of Thatta, and it's tile work, finds a place in Michael Berry's *Colour and symbolism in Islamic Architecture line*, pp.245, 300.

decoration are of Samarqand, Bokhara and Heart;[9] the type still practice restoring the technique of *haft rang* (seven colours) in *kashi* style. This method of decoration introduced in Sind probably by the Arabs and was revived with is contacts with Safawids.[10] In Sind these enameled tiles are always laid in flat surfaces upon one level, but in Multan and Lahore, they are sometimes laid on raised and sunk platform alternatively.[11] For the tile decoration mainly two types of tiles were used; one was rectangle in shape and has single glazed colour, and the second was square in shape with geometrical or floral design in shades of blue, against white or sometimes blue background. The second were also glazed tiles. The floral motifs were probably hand painted, and it needed skill to join the pieces together to form a particular design, which was done (probably) with the help of prepared graph of a particular pattern. But with the coming of Mughals, the Sind tiles travelled farther afield than Sind itself. They are used in dado decoration in gallery, and near the altar on either side in the old ruined church of the Jesuits at Bassein, near Bombay. They have been

[9] *Ibid*, p. 273.

[10] Haig, *Cambridge history of India*, vol IV, p. 569.

[11] Henry Cousens, p.113.

sparingly used in some of the old buildings at Bijapur, and the whole front of the old *madarsa* at Bidar.[12]

Besides this, the use of pilarette on the gates use of rosette, pavilion type of tombs, are typical of indigenous style of Sind. They larger buildings were generally of two distinct styles of work. In the one, they were constructed, of cut stone (yellow limestone locally available) covered with carved surface tracery similar to Akbar's capital buildings, while in others they were built of brick work, all except the plinth, on which they stand, and depend for their decoration upon a lavish use of enameled tiles. This brick work was very superior; especially the surface bricks (due to erosion) were made of best pottery clay, perfectly formed and dense, raving cleanly cut sharp edges, and of rich dark red. The enameled tiles of blue and, white colours were placed on outer surface.

The indigenous style remained dominant in the latter buildings (buildings made of bricks), while the stone buildings had Mughal impact on it. Besides the Mughal, the features of 'Alaī architecture i.e. spearheaded fringes on the intrados of arches; of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq's

[12] *Ibid.* In Hala, thirty-five miles north of Hyderabad, and in Nasarpur, the tile making was still present, when Henry Cousens did survey of Sind.

architecture i.e. multiplicity of domes; and of Sūr architecture i.e. oriel windows, were also mixed with the native style. However, the decorative motifs especially oval lobed motif, star, *guldasta* form, fruit vases, lattice work, is Safawid influence, while the tile decoration and carving on stone remained indigenous.

# CHAPTER 8

## DEVELEPMENT OF REGIONAL POETRY, LITERATURE, AND HIGH CULTURE

With the arrival of Arabs in Sind, the doors of Islamic learning, education and literature had already been opened. This from of learning reached its highest paint during the Sammah rule, especially during the period of Jām Nizāmuddīn, who invited scholars from outside India.[1] During his period Mīr Shamsuddīn and Mīr Muīnuddīn, the two disciples of Maulana Jalāl Muḥammad, came and settled at Thatta.[2]With the establishment of Arghuns in Sind, the horizon of learning widened, as the political instability in Central Asia, and of North India, let the scholars to come and settle in Sind, where the royal Patronage was provided to them. Shāh Beg himself was man of learning; and sought pleasure in the company of learned men.[3] Sind became the seat of many renouned scholars as Abd'al Aziz Abhārī, Makhdūm Fakhr-i-Pūtrah, Makhdūm Bilāl, Qāzī Ḍitāh Siwistānī, Shaikh Abdullāh Mūttaqi, Qāzī Qazān, Makhdūm Yūsūf Tayūnah,

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p.75.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 102, 127-128.

Makhdūm 'Arabi of Halahkandi and Qāzī Shūkrallah.[4] Qāzī Ḍitāh Siwistānī, was well known for his knowledge of numerology and astrology.[5] There were others also who were famous for their command over Arabic and Persian language of these Maulana Maslikā-al-Dūb Lārī, was an expert in Arabic language, but he wrote in Persian also as *Sharāh-i-Shūmaīl-i-Nabawī, Hawashis-i-Tāsir-i-Baydawī.*[6]

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[4] *Ibid.* pp.76, 117, 197- 200, 202, 204. Also see p. 142. When Shāh Beg conquered Thatta in 1519, Sayyed Shūkrallah Shirāzī, and his son Sayyed Zaheēruddīn 'Jādūm', along with some Mashaīkh (Sayyed Manbā, Sayyed Kamāl and Sayyed 'Abdullah of Qādirī *silsilah*) accompanied him to Thatta. Shah Husaīn conferred upon him the office of *Shaīkh-ul Islām* and also appointed him the *qāzī* of Thatta because of his erudition and scholarship. Mīr 'Alī Shēr 'Qani Thattavī was sixth of his generation. *Tūhfat'ul Ṭāhīrīn,* ed. Badr-i-Alam Durrani, Hyderabad-Sind, 1966, pp. 146-47; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī,* pp.14-15; 'Alī Sher 'Qani Thattavī, *Mūqālāt-us Shu'arā*, ed. Pir Husammuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1957, p. 571; Qāzī Ḍitāh Siestānī was a disciple of Makhdūm Fakhr-i-Pūtrah, who was settled at Kahan. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 198,199; Makhdūm Shaīkh Bilāl was the most perfect saint of Bubakan, who had called Mirza Shāh Husaīn a despot, because he ill treated the family of Makhdūm Shaīkh Bahaūddin Zakarīya at Multan. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin,* vol I, pp. 177. Qāzī Qazān was a Mahdavi by faith and was appointed *qāzī* of Bhakkar. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 114, 123, 200, 201. His grandson Mian Mīr introduced *sufi* tradition to Dāra Shikōh. See Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of Great Mughals*, Delhi, 2004. P.252.

[5] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 199-200, M'asūmī himself was his disciple who decimated *Safināt-ul-Aūlia* to his *pīr*. His grandson Miān Mīr introduced sufi tradition to Dāra Shikōh. see. Annemarie Schimmel, p. 252

[6] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 204.

Shāh Husaīn himself was a great poet, and wrote in Persian and Turkish with the pen name of *Sipāhī* [7] Maulana Fakhri Harwī, who wrote *Rawdāt-al- Salātin* in 1554 A.D, was a great scholar who was given patronage by Māh Begum (wife of Shāh Beg Arghun).[8]

Sultān Maḥmūd Kokaltāsh also patronized men of learning as Mīr Muḥammad Purānī, Mīr Abu'l Makārīm and Maulana Yār Muḥammad Yārī were present in his court, and received royal patronage.[9] Besides Arghuns, the Tarkhāns also patronized men of erudition in different fields of knowledge as Mirāk Abd'al Rahmān son of ShaīkhMirāk Purānī, who had a great knowledge of geometry, during the period of Tarkhāns.[10] Except Bāqī Tarkhān, who kept the scholars at margin, and

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[7] *Ibid.* p. 195. *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, part I, p. 129.

[8] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 127, 128; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīri*, pp. 131-132.

[9] Mīr Muḥammad Purāni was from Hormuz and was settled at Bhakkar. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 238-239, *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām* vol III, part I, pp. 130-131. Sultān Maḥmūd had sent Mīr Abu'l Makārim on embassy to Shāh Tahmāsp Safawid. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 239; *Tūhfat'ul Kirām* vol III, part I, p. 127. Besides Qāzī Uṭhaman, was also a famous scholar, who had predicted the victory of imperial army under Khān-i-Khānān over Jānī Beg. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 240; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin*, vol I, p. 179. For Maulana Muḥammad Yārī, see *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 111 , 191.

[10] Mirāk Abd'al Rahmān son of ShaīkhMirāk Purānī, had a great knowledge of geometry, and he said to have invented new figures in geometry. *Tārīkh -i-Sind*, p. 215; *Tūhfat'ul Kirām* vol III, part I, p. 213.

instead patronized local *qazis* and *ulema*.[11] With the accession of Jānī Beg to the throne, the literary activities got an impetus and the old traditions were revived, he himself was a poet and *Halīmī* was his *nom due plume*. His poetry was very famous among the *qawwals*.[12] His son Mirza Ghazi beg also received education in different secrecies out, use of arms and in affairs of government.[13] Mirza Ghāzī also got pleasure in the company of learned men and had the company of scholars like Mūlla Mūrshid Yazdjardī, Tālib Amālī, Mīr Niāmat'ullah Asītī, and Mūlla Aṣad.[14] It was during his period when Faghfūri Gilānī had came to Qandahar at his court, and Ghazi Beg received him very well.[15] Mirza Ghāzī himself was a great poet and wrote a *diwān* with a penname of *Waqārī*.[16] He was also an unequalled singer and especially

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[11] He had asked these scholars to stay outside the town. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp. 116, 137,138. But he patronized Darwēsh Da'ud. He remitted the revenue of the land. Darwesh Da'ud's *madarsah* accommodated five hundred students and they were provided free lodging boarding and dress to the students. *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 36; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp. 46-47.

[12] *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol I, p. 181; vol II, p. 29.

[13] *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 206.

[14] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, pp. 347-8. Mūlla Mūrshid was a port in the court of Ghāzī Beg. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp. 224-25, 346; *Tūhfat'ul Kirām* vol III, part I, p. 189.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Tuzuk*, p. 63; *Zakhirāt- ul- Khwānin*, vol II, p.29 ; *Ma'asir- ul- Umara*, vol III, pp .382-3; *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, p. 188.

sang *raag tōdī* and played tambour, in fact he would play all the instruments.[17] It was owing to his love for poetry and literature, that almost all the officials including soldiers of the army, started composing verses, in order to grain attention and reward from him.[18]

The coming of Mughals in Sind led to the flourishing of high culture because of the political stability provided by the imperial rule. The Mughal officials during the time of Emperor Akbar, especially Mīr Abu'l Qāsim Khān Namkīn paid daily allowances (*rūzinah*) to most of the scholars, and even paid them fare to meet Mirān Ṣadr-i-Jāhān, and gave each one of them his own recommendations.[19] The imperial tradition of awarding the scholars, and *ulema* with the revenue feel lands (*madad-i-ma'ash*) was also started in Sind, firstly in Sehwan by its *faūjdār* Abu'l Qāsim Khān Namkīn.[20] In order to ensure the patronage given to scholars and men of learning Akbar appointed *ṣadr-us- sudur,*

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[17] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, p. 347; *Zakhirāt-ul- Khwānin*, vol II, p. 29; *Tūhafat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part I, p. 191.

[18] *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 13.

[19] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, p. 121.

[20] *Ibid.* In the village Lak'alwi, he even reduced the share of Sayyeds, the descendant of Hazrāt Miyān Sayyed Abū Bakr to ¼ in *ghalla- bakhshī.* p. 216.

*ṣadr, mīr-i-'adl,* and *muftis* in the region.[21] He even invited one of such grant scholars poet Niyāzī at imperial court.[22] The royal patronage given to these scholars are well recorded, Sayyed Abu'l Makārim was given stipend by Emperor Jahāngīr.[23] The scholars were even given important posts by the Emperor; as Maḥmūd Beg, son of Makhdūm Tālib Allāh Mūdarris received a reward of *dirhams* as and a daily stipend of one rupee[24] from Aūrangzēb. Other learned person of Sind in different field such as calligraphy, were also given them due importance. Sayyed Muḥammad 'Alī was a famous calligrapher of Thatta, his son was received with a great favor at the court of Aūrangzēb.[25] Mīr 'Atā Allāh Mashhādi, was outstanding in the excellence of his poetry and calligraphy.[26] Some of the Mughal officials of Sind were also noted

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21 *Tārīkh -i-Sind,* p. 245, Also see provincial administration of chapter one in the thesis.

22 Famous poet Niyāzi, came to Thatta, during the period of Shāh Beg Arghun, and settled there. He was also patronized by Mīr Bāqī Tarkhān. Emperor Akbar had invited him to the court but Niyāzi's death obstructed his way to the court. *Mūqālā-us-Shu'ara*, pp. 821-22.

23 His ancestor had come to Sind. He belonged to Qādirī *Silsilah.* He was even appointed trustee of *J'ama Masjid* of Thatta. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī,* p. 35; Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sind*, p. 332.

24 Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sind*, p.332.

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* vol II, pp. 101,102.

scholars, Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī was a good poet scholar and calligrapher, who belonged to Tirmizi Sayyeds, was a very famous poet wrote under a penname of Nāmī, and also very good calligrapher, whose inscriptions are found over royal buildings like Fatehpur Sikri, Agra fort, and Mandu fort etc.[27] Abu'l Baqā had a good command over Persian language, and he could from sentences instantly with including words which caused him stammer.[28] Similarly Abd'al Karīm was noted for his best chronograms during the reign of Aūrangzēb.[29]Mīr Ghārūrī Kashānī was a very good poet, who wrote *masnavīs* and a *diwān*. He was *darōghah-i-dạrb khāna* (incharge of royal mint).[30] Another person, who had good command over algebra and mathematics, was Mūlla

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[27] He was *manṣabdār* of 250, as given in the list of *manṣabdār* in *Ā'īn*, but later his rank was increased to 1000, and he was sent in an Embassy to the court of Shāh Abbās I of Safawid dynasty; where he was received very well. After retuning from there in the year 1606-07, he was given title of Amin-ul-Mulk, and was appointed *amīn* of Sind. *Ā'īn* tr. Blochmann, vol I, pp. 560, 578-79; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, p. 327; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn,* vol I, p. 203.According to Farīd Bhakkarī, "he was a good calligraphist, "starting from Erevan, Nakhjiwan, Tabriz and Isfahan to Qandahar, Kabul, Kashmir, India and Deccan, wherever he went, he composed verses for inscription and carved them out of stone. "

[28] *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī*, vol II, pp. 101, 102.

[29] *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, part I, pp. 325, 326, 327.

[30] Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 332. He came to Thatta, during reign of Bāqī Tarkhān. *Muqālāt-us-Shu'ara,* pp. 465-66.

Muḥammad who became *ṣadr-us-sudūr* in Jahāngīr's reign.[31] Another learned person from Sind was Shaīkh Sa'adullah Surtī who was an accomplished scholar, perfect in esoteric and ritual sciences. He made a comparative study of different religion, and was highly venerated by Aūrangzēb, who wrote letters to him.[32]According to 'Alī Shēr 'Qani, "he was a voluminous writer and composer of following treatise; *Hashra-bar Hikmat, Risāla Kāshful Haq, Risāla Sūbutī, Mazhabī Shi'a Risāla, Tūhfat'ul Rasaīl, Risāla-i-Chahal Bayt Masnavī.*"[33]

Besides imperial patronage to individuals the centre of religious learning ie *madarsas* were also given patronage. Some of the famous *madarsas* of the period were *madarsa-i- Mirzaī* at Rohri, the *madarsa* of Makhdūm Usmān at Darbela, *madarsa* of Miyān 'Abdu'l Rahīm, Makhdūm Abu'l Qāsim and Makhdūm Rahmat Allāh at Thatta.[34] Hamilton records four hundred of such institutions of learning in Thatta alone.[35]

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[31] Mullah Muḥammad was a teacher of Āsaf Jahān. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn,* vol II, pp. 373, 374. He was put to death by Mahābat Khān.

[32] Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, " '*Alī Sher 'Qani Thattavī's life and contribution to the history and culture of Sind,*" PIHC, Delhi, 1992, section II, pp.321-331.

[33] *Muqālāt-us- Shu'ara,* pp. 122-3.

[34] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 170, 240; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, pp. 46-47.

[35] Alexander Hamilton, *A new account of East Indies*, vol I, p. 127.

As a result of this patronage, writing of Arabic and Persian texts, and histories in court style became evident and sixteenth and seventeenth century. Qāzi Muḥammad Zahīr of Thatta, wrote *Fatawā-i-Zahīrī.*[36] Sayyēd 'Alī Thānī Shirāzi wrote *Adāb-al- Murīdin;*[37] (a book on *sufi* practices) Miyā Ziya'al- din who was a great scholar and poet wrote *Hirz-al-Bashār,* He was also known as Mīr Lutf Allāh.[38] Maulana Shakībi, who was in the time of Jāni Beg, wrote *Saqināma,* a full poem on conquest of Sind by the Mughals. For this Khān-i-Khānān gave him the award of one thousand *muḥr,* while Mirza Jānī Beg, gave him the award of one thousand *ashrafīs.*[39] Besides, these, the out of writing regional history in personalized way also started in Sind. As a result of which Idrākī Beglāri's *Beglārnāma,* Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī's *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* Ma'sūmī also wrote a short treatise on medicine *Mufrīdāt-i-Ma'sūmī.*[40] He also helped Nizāmuddīn Ahmad in the compilation of *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* Sayyed Muḥammad Ṭāhir Nisyāni's *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī,* Yūsūf Mirāk's *Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī,* 'Alī Shēr 'Qani Thattavi's

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[36] He also wrote *hawāshis* on Arabic text books. *Muqālāt-us-Shu'ara*, p. 381.

[37] *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, pp. 215-16.

[38] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, p. 311.

[39] *Ibid*, p.292.

[40] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara,* vol III, pp.326-7.

*Tūhfat'ul-Kirām,* and *Muqālāt-us-Shu'ara* in late eighteenth century are some of the examples of such writings. A part from it biographies of nobles, scholars and saints were also produced notably, *Muqālāt-us-Shu'ara(1761),* is the best literary production *of* 'Alī Sher 'Qani Thattavi. It is the first biography of Sindhi poets in Persian. Besides the poets of Sind, he mentions the names of other poets who migrated to Sind from abroad and made various cities, towns and places of Sind as the theme of their poetry, though before him Sayyed Abdūl Qādir Thattavī wrote *Hadiqāt-ul-Awliyā* a biographical sketch of Sufis of Sind ,and *Rawdāt-al-Salātīn* by Fakhrī Harwī,[41] *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin* by Shaīkh Farīd Bhakkarī (in three volumes), which not only deals with the nobles of [42] Sind, but also of Mughal court. He also wrote *Tārīkh-i-Haḍrāt-i-Shāhjahānī, Tūhfa-i-Sarandāz.* The Sindhi scholars also contributed in great historic work of Aūrangzēb's reign ie. Abu'l Khayr and Makhdūm Nizām'al Dīn Thānī, contributed in the compilation of

[41] *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p .206, attributes it to Shāh Hasan Takdūrī; *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām,* vol III, part I, p. 210 , for Sayyed Abdūl Qādir Thattavī, see, p. 216.

[42] In this Shaīkh Farīd Bhakkarī, had put in writing the names of each and every member of the family of Itmad'ud daūla (father of Nūr Jahān). *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin* vol II, p. 12.

*Fatawa-i-'Alamgīrī.*[43] Arabic and Persian *lughats* (lexicons) were written by Abdūl Rashīd known as *Farhang-i-Rashīdī.*[44]

Another field of literature, which was quite flourishing in Sind was poetry: which had lot of Persian influence in it, more than Arabic, and was, sometimes inspired by the *sufi* philosophy because Sind was the home of several skilled exponents of *sufi thought* during the middle ages. The Islamic idea of music as part of the service of god has also played some part in shaping of Sindhi poetry. The chief kinds of serious poetical composition cultivated by the Sindhis have been *Madahs*, *Munājāts*, *Marsīyahs* and '*Kowars*' or '*Lanāts*'.[45] The first are praises of God, the prophet and Saints. The second are the religious hymns. The third are elegies generally concerned with the martyrdom of Hasan and Husaīn, the fourth are composition which deal with the moral virtues and vices of mankind! While the lighter from of composition include songs of victory, eulogy, *kafis* or *wais*, a form of amatory verse, *bayt* (couplets) and *sanyoras* or love messages, which was based on Persian

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[43] Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo- Persian Literature,* Delhi, 1995, p. 35.

[44] A Persian into Persian dictionary being a critically revised and corrected version of the contents of *Farhang-i-Jahāngiri* and *Majma'ul furs*, dedicated to Emperor Shāhjāhān, and completed in 1654. See D.N. Marshall and D.B. Taraporevala, *Mughals in India*, Bombay, 1962. p.11.

[45] H.T.Sorley, *Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit* , p. 240.

models but possessed a local character. In context of its richness in poetry, and other form of literature, Shaīkh Farīd Bhakkarī calls Thatta second Iran.[46]

Among the literary society, poetry was given a special place in Sind. Among the Arghuns, Shāh Husaīn, not only patronized it but himself was interested and used to write with the penname of *Sipāhī* the Tarkhāns also provided royal patronage to this branch of literature. Poetry was patronized by Mirza Jānī Beg who wrote with the penname of *Halīmī* whose *ghazals* were quite famous among the *qawwals,* while Mirza Ghāzī wrote with the penname of *Waqārī.* He had written an entire *diwān, Diwān-i-Waqārī.* He had patronized many poets like Tāliba Mazāndarāni, Shaīda Isfahānī, and ten other renouned poets of the time.[47] Mūlla Mūrshid Yazdjardī was a famous poet in the court of Mirza Ghāzī.[48] Amongst the Tarkhāns, Mirza Jānī Beg, Mirza Sālih Tarkhān, 'Isa Tarkhān II were also good poets, while Bāqī Tarkhān had patronized poets like Gaznafar Beg, Firāqi and Rangīn.[49]

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[46] *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānin,* vol II, p.31

[47]. *Ibid,* p. 29; *Tuhfat'ul Kirām,* vol III, part I, p. 188

[48]. *Tuhfat'ul Kirām* , vol III, part I, p. 189.

[49] *Ibid,* pp. 134, 135, 135.n3, 52n.1; for Jānī Beg see. *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn* vol I, p.181. See also vol II, p. 29. (for 'Isa Tarkhān II, see p .212 of vol II)

Under the patronage of Mughal officials certain local folk lores were also turned into poetry; Idrākī Beglār adopted this style, who under the patronage of Mīr Abu'l Qāsim Sultān (1601-1602 A.D.) wrote *Chanēsarnāma* or *Wāqia-i-Chanēsar wā Laīla*, while Mīr M'asūm Nāmī wrote *Husn wa Nāz* (story of Sassi and Punnu)[50] and *Parī Surat*. He wrote a *Diwān*, and *masnavī Madā-ul-Afqār*, in an imitation of *Makhzān-ul-Asrār* of Nizāmī. While Mūlla Muqīm converted story of Mumal and Mendra into Persian poetry, with the title of *Tarannūm-i-Ishq.*[51] With these Mīr Ma'sūm Nāmī introduced writing of *Khamsah masnavī* in Sind, in fact it was he, who introduced the trend of writing poetry based on popular folk lore. Similarly *Masnavī-i-Mazāhir'ul Asār* was written by Shāh Jahāngīr Hāshmī in 940 A.H, and *Masnavī-i-Meha-wa-Mah* by Ata Thattawi.[52] Another form included was satire, which was written by Zafar Khan Ahsan with the name of Ata Thattavī.[53] A

[50] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, pp. 76, 203, 204; *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, p. 347; *Zakhirāt-ul-Khwānīn*, vol I, pp. 200, 203; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol III, p.327.

[51] *Ibid*. p. 49. See *Āīn* tr. Blochmann, vol I, p. 579.

[52] *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, part I, pp. 76,367. See the Persian texts list given at the end for *Masnavi-i-Mazahir* by Shāh Jahāngīr Hāshmi, His collection of verses is known as *Diwān-i-Hāshmi*. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 205.

[53] He was from 'Alāmgīr's reign to Muḥammad Shāh's reign. (1063-1130 A.H.) *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, part I, pp. 423, 424, 425. Some other poets of *masnavī*

form, which derives its origin from the Arabs flourished during this period, was *qasīdahs*, a form marshaled by Shāh Jahāngīr Hāshmī and Fakhrī Harwī, 'Abdūl Ḥākim 'Ala.[54]

There was another form of poetry also which was influenced by *Sufi* and *Bhakti* Movements in Sind. The main exponent of this form of poetry, were Qāzī Qazān (1463-1551), Prān Nāth (1618-1694), Sāchal Sarmast (1739-1829), and Shāh 'Abdūl Latīf of Bhit (1689-1752). Out of these Qāzī Qazān, who was the *qāzī* of Bhakkar, made experiment with prevailing poetic Hindi form of *'doha'* by changing its rhyming scheme and number of lines, and produced a new from i.e. *bayt* (couplet).[55] While Prān Nāth was the first person who introduced *Sagun Bhakti* in Sindhi poetry,[56] Sāchal Sarmast, was the rebellious *sufi* poet of

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included Muḥammad Taqī Khān who wrote with a pen name of *Āashiq.* and Muḥammad Moḥsin, who were at Thatta. *Tūhfat'ul-Kirām*, vol III, part I, p. 377.

[54] *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp. 205, 206; *Muqālāt-us-Shu'ara,* pp. 185-86, 442-43, 487, 844-89. There were others like Muḥsin Thattawi who wrote *qasīdah* for Nādir Shāh, in one of his twenty six couplets. He was during Aūrangzēb's reign and was a much renounced poet even known in Thatta. He died in 1749 A.D. *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*, vol III, part, pp. 377, 456, 457, 458.

[55] *Medieval Indian literature*, edited by K. Ayyappa Pannikar, Delhi, 2000, vol IV, p. 374. For Qāzī Qaẓān see *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* pp. 114, 123, 200, 201

[56] *Ibid*, p. 382. He was a disciple of Swami Nijānand, and he wrote over six hundred slokas in Sindhi. He was in Sind between 1667-1668 A.D. Somehow, in his writing,

Sind, whose real name was Abdūl Waḥāb,[57] while Sāchal/Sāchu was his pen name. He wrote in Sindhi, Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Arabic and Punjabi. He for the first time introduced *ghazal* in Sindhi poetry. His *kāfis* are also very famous among the local people of Sind.

The most famous poet of eighteenth century was Shāh Abdūl Latīf of Bhit, who wrote *Shāhjō Risālō*.[58] He was a grandson of Shāh 'Abdūl Karīm of Bulrri (1536-1625), a much revered mystic poet of Sind. His style is harmonious and happy blend of sanskritized vocabulary and Persian and Arabic phraseology; his lyrics are music oriented. He had written poems like *Sūr Sorath, Sūr Asa, Sūr Suhini, Sūr Sarang, Sūr kedaro, Sūr Maizuri, Sūr Rip, Sūr Dahir, Sūr Yaman Kalyan, Sūr Kalyān, Ramkalī* and *Masnavīs*.[59] There was other, who had mastered in music like Mīr Mirān Sāni Amīr Khān, who was present in Sind during the late seventeenth century.[60] It's said that he had one thousand

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he is influenced by Qazi Qazan. See L.H. Ajwani, *History of Sindhi Literature*, Karachi, 1991. P. 58.

[57] *Medieval Indian literature*, p.442

[58] *Ibid*, p. 386.

[59] Out of these *Sūr Asa* deals with oneness of god *Sūr Suhini* are love poems, *Sūr Sarang* are poems on rain, *Sūr Maizuri* deals, with union of man with god (*sufi* element), and *Sūr Kedaro* are the ballad of the sorrow of Muharram. H.T. Sorley, *Shāh Abdūl Latif of Bhit*, pp. 227, 233, 234, 244, 245, 254, 255.

[60] *Tūhfat'ul Kirām*. vol. III, part I, p. 379.

disciples in entire Hindustan Thus it can be said that, while the rich trends of learning were initiated by the Arghuns, and were taken to higher steps by the Tarkhāns, who gave lot of patronage for learning With the coming of Mughals, Sind experimented Persianized style of writing whether it was histories that were written, or poetry. The poetry of Sind of sixteenth, seventeenth and mid eighteenth century, combines the Indo Persian style, imbibing in itself the cultural movements of the period; which was patronized by the Mughal court, and by the Mughal officials who were present in Sind at that time.

The effect of Mughal rule on Sindhi literary society and culture can be seen in the way the histories and poetry were being written, by adopting the Persian historiography style. Moreover, treatise on medicine was also written. In the buildings, the Mughal style of architecture was evident whether it was a *J'amī* mosque or the mausoleums that were constructed by the Mughal nobles during that period. The Sindhi calligraphist also left their impression not only on architecture of Sind, but also on royal buildings Agra fort, Fatehpur Sikri mosque, and Mandu fort. Thus with the establishment of the Mughal rule in Sind, the common man was groomed by the interaction with the royal court and imperial nobles. The literature that was being

written, and the balladic traditions which were orally transmitted ,combined together and gave birth to high culture in Sind, whose effect was felt on scholars', nobles' and artisans' work.

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